BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

A Newspaper in Marathi
Founded by
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
in April 1927

Translated into English by
Dr. B. R. Kamble

PART ONE

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Research Institute in Social Growth
Kolhapur

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(Untouchable India)
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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
&
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Published by
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Research Institute in Social Growth
'Bodhi-Sattva', Gokul Shirgaon, Kolhapur - 416 004
Maharashtra (India)

First Edition
March, 2011

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Research Institute in Social Growth, Kolhapur

Printed by
Bharati Mudranalaya
832, E, Shahupuri 4th Lane,
Kolhapur - 416 001
Ph. : 0231 - 2654329

Price : Rs. 350/-

Dedicated to
Prin. M. B. Chitnis
a true Exponent of
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Thought & Action

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

While preparing this book some of my friends helped me sincerely by sparing their time. Dr. B.D. Khane, my former colleague in the dept. of History, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, spent his valuable time in doing the work of proof reading and indexing of the book. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to him. I also record my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. M. P. Patil of History Dept. Shivaji University, Kolhapur for taking care of the language part of the book.

Lastly my profound thanks are also due to Shri. Nihal Shipurkar for doing the printing work of the book diligently.

- Prof. B. R. Kamble

INTRODUCTION

After staying in England almost for three years from July, 1920 to April, 1923 for his studies in Bar-At-Law and for completing the thesis for the degree of D.Sc. Dr. Ambedkar returned to India on 3rd April, 1923. Antecedents of his life prior to his establishing the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha on 20th July, 1924 show that he had made up his mind while he was in America to embark on a crusade that will lead to the liberation of one fifth population called the untouchables in this country.

His father retired from military service in 1892 and after staying at a place called Dapoli in Ratnagiri District in Konkan for some days he shifted to Satara a district head quarter where Bhimrao's schooling started. There was a famine in Satara district and Ambedkar's father, Ramji, secured a job of store keeper at Goregaon, in Satara district, where a famine work of excavating the water tank was going on. For the school purpose of his two children Balaram and Bhimrao (Bhiva) Ramji placed his family at Satara.

In November 1896 both these children were enrolled in military school at Satara. Bhiva had completed his fifth year of his age and was running 6th year when he entered the school in November 1896. It is here during his school days at Satara he learnt certain bitter experiences about his being an untouchable. In Satara there were many hair cutting saloons but no barber was ready to cut his hair. It is here he learnt first the cause of not cutting his hair by any barber. Another thing was that he was made to sit segregated in the school and was not allowed to mix with boys of touchable castes. He was also not allowed to touch the water tap in the school. The school peon used to open the tap for him and he used to drink the water without touching the tap. He used to carry his own gunny cloth for sitting in the school from his home and again carried the same to home in the evening, whereas rest of the boys used the cloth supplied by the school. He was not allowed to play cricket in the school along with the touchable boys.

These humiliating school experiences made on Bhiva the permanent impact revealing what untouchability was.

But in all these there took place an event while he was in Satara which revealed the most tragic part of the practice of untouchability to him even when he was a boy of hardly eight year old. The event was that :

"One summer day he and his elder brother with his little nephew set out to meet their father who worked as a Cashier at Goregaon. They got in at Padali Railway Station and travelled upto Masur. As so their father did not receive their letter in time and hence he did not turn up to the station. After waiting for long weary hours, they could with difficulty persuad the station master, who was a caste Hindu, to secure for them a bullock cart and started for their journey to Goregaon. Padali, Masur and Goregaon are the villages in Satara District.

Hardly had the cart gone a few yards when the god-fearing caste Hindu cartman, to his wrath, came to know that the well dressed boys in his cart were the accursed untouchables! In a fit of rage he threw them out on the road as one overturns the dustbins; for he felt they had polluted his wooden cart and destroyed the purity of his domestic animals! But the boys soothed the cartman's anger by paying double the fare and Bhim's elder brother drove the cart, the cartman following the cart on foot. From the evening till midnight the boys travelled with their mouths parched with thirst; but nowhere could they get drinking water on the way. Every time people either pointed out to the filthy water or asked them to go away. This was the first rude and shattering shock to the budding mind of Bhim. This day he knew that he belonged to a family that was untouchable, degraded to drink and eat filthy things."

Bhim's father moved to Bombay after their examination in November 1904. There Bhim entered in Elphinsten Highschool, Bombay. Here he used to sit on the last bench because the students of touchable community did not allow him to sit with them. Here also an event took place which he remembered unforgetably. His mathematics teacher Mr. Joshi asked a question in the class and Bhim's was the only one hand that was raised up. The teacher asked Bhim to go to the blackboard to solve the example but boys shouted loudly that he should not be allowed to touch the black board because he is a Mahar by caste. They said that they have kept their tiffins near the black board and those will be polluted by his touch to the board. When the teacher in spite of this opposition allowed Bhim to write on board the boys rushed to the board and removed their tiffins from there. Bhim wrote on the board but the writing of the insult that was done on his mind remained as an imprint permanently in his memory.

After passing his matriculation examination in 1907 from Elphinstone Highschool he entered Elphinstone College for his collegiate studies. When his father found it difficult to finance his collegiate studies Shri Keluskar a non-Brahmin social worker who was also a teacher in Wilson Highschool at Bombay pleaded his case to Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda for financial help and the Maharaja sanctioned Rs. 25 per month as scholarship for the prosecution of his studies in Elphinstone College. The college hotel keeper was a Brahmin, he did not serve him tea or water even though he was ready to pay. Bhim passed his B.A. examination in 1912 and went to Baroda to join the state service as his collegiate education was financed by the Baroda state. His father did not like the idea of Bhim joining the Baroda state service. Perhaps he was aware that Bhim will not go well there due to the rigidity of caste practices there. He came to Baroda in the last week of January 1913. There was no provision for his staying in Baroda. Pandit Atmaram, a Punjabi Hindu and an Arya Samajist was an inspector for the schools meant for untouchables. He made some arrangement for Ambedkar's staying accommodation and Ambedkar began taking his meals from an untouchable family in Baroda. There was no agreement among the officials over the work to be assigned to him in the Baroda Secretariat and whatever work that was assigned to him temporarily was quickly done by him and for the rest of the time he devoted himself to reading books. This used to enrage others. The peons used to throw the files on his table from the distance. Everybody in office used to keep himself at a distance from him. In this way he spent some ten days facing such difficulties in his office. He suddenly received a telegram from Bombay that his father was seriously ill. He rushed to Bombay. His father was almost on death bed. After seeing Bhim, perhaps he was waiting for that, he breathed his last.

The Maharaja instead of asking him to go to Baroda sanctioned fellowship for three years to prosecute his studies further in Colombia University U.S.A.

During his three years stay in Columbia University, New York, he secured two degrees M.A. and Ph.D. and with a view to prosecute higher studies in Economics and complete his Bar-At-Law course in Grays Inn in London he left New York for England in the last week of May 1917. In England he registered his name for D.Sc. in Economics in London School of Economics and Politics and in Grays Inn for Bar-At-Law. He returned to India in august 1917 reaching Bombay on 21st August, 1917 as his tenure for fellowship from Baroda ended and he was asked to join Baroda services immediately.

It is here the major tragic episode occured when he went to Baroda and joined the services there again. An account that he himself has narrated about his Baroda experience during his second visit is as below:

"As I was educated by the Baroda state I was bound to serve the state. Accordingly on my arrival from England, I straightway went to Baroda."

"My five years of stay in Europe and America had completely wiped out of my mind any consciousness that I was an untouchable and that an untouchable whenever he went in India was a problem to himself and to others. But when I came out of the Baroda station my mind was considerably disturbed by a question, where to go? Who will take me? I felt deeply agitated. Hindu hotels there were but they would not take me. The only way of seeking accommodation therein was by impersonation. But I was not prepared for it because I could well anticipate the dire consequences which were sure to follow if my identity is discovered as it was sure to be. I had friends in Baroda who had come to America for study "would they welcome me if I went? I could not assure myself. They may feel embarrassed by admitting an untouchable in their household. I stood under the roof of the station for some time thinking, where to go, what to do. Then I called a hackney driver and asked him whether there was any hotel there in the camp. He said that there was a Parsi inn and that they took paying guests. My heart was gladdened by hearing that it was a Parsi inn. The Parsis are the followers of the Zoroastrian religion. I became fearless because their religion does not recognise untouchability. I put my luggage in the hackney and asked the driver to drive me to Parsi inn in the camp.

The inn was a two storied building and on the ground floor of which lived an old Parsi with his family. He was a care-taker and supplied food to tourists who came there to stay. The Parsi showed me upstairs. I felt happy that after all I had solved my problem of finding a sojourn. The caretaker came up with register book in his hand and asked me who I was. Not knowing that this hotel was meant only for Parsis I told him that I was a Hindu. He was shocked and told me that I could not stay in the inn. Then I told him that I have no objection in staying here if he had no objection. He replied how can you? I have to maintain a register of all those who stay here in the inn. I saw his difficulty. I said I could assume a Parsi name for the purpose of entering it in the register. Why do you object if I do not object, you will not lose, you will earn something if I stay here. I could see that he was inclined favourably. Evidently he had had no tourist for a long time and he did not like to forgo the opportunity of making some money. He agreed on condition that I pay him a rupee and a half per day for board and lodging and entered myself as a Parsi in his register. The problem was solved and I felt very happy. But alas! I did not then know how short was to be this happiness.

The inn on the first floor had a small bed-room and adjoining it was one small bathroom with a water tap in it. The rest was one big hall. At the time of my stay the big hall was filled up with all sorts of rubbish, planks, benches, broken chairs etc. In the midst of the surroundings I lived a single solitary individual.

I was appointed a probationer in the Accountant General's office by the Maharaja of Baroda. I used to leave the inn at about 10 a.m. for the office and return late at about 8 in the evening. The idea of returning to the inn to spend the night therein was most terrifying to me and I used to return to the inn only because I had no other place under the sky to go for rest. In this big hall on the first floor of the inn there were no fellow human beings to talk to. I was quite alone. The whole hall was in complete darkness. There were no electric lights nor even oil lamps to relieve the darkness. In the absence of the company of human beings I sought the company of books and read and read. Absorbed in the reading, I forgot my loneliness condition. But the chirping and flying about the bats, which had made the hall their home, often distracted my mind. So heart-rending was my condition that when my sister's son came from Bombay bringing my remaining luggage which I had left behind and when he saw my state, began to cry so loudly that I had to send him back immediately. In this state I lived in the Parsi inn impersonating a Parsi. I knew that I could not long continue this impersonation as I would be discovered some day. I was therefore trying to get a state bungalow to stay in. But the Prime Minister did not look upon my request with same urgency. My petition went from officer to officer and before I got the final reply the day of my doom arrived.

It was 11th day of my stay in the inn. After taking my meals and dressing I was about to step out to go to office and I heard footsteps of a considerable number of people coming up the staircase. Instantly I saw a dozen angry looking, tall, sturdy Parsis, each armed with a stick, coming towards my room. They lined up in front of my room and fired a volley of questions who are you? Why did you come here? How dare you take a Parsi name? You scoundrel! You have polluted the Parsi inn. I stood silent. I could give no answer. I could not persist in impersonation. It was in fact a fraud and the fraud was discovered and I am sure if I had persisted in the game I was playing I would have been assaulted by the mob of angry and fanatic Parsis and probably doomed to death. My weakness and my silence averted this doom. One of them asked when I thought of vacating. Thinking that my application to the minister for a bungalow would be decided within a week I implored them to let me stay for a week at least. But the Parsis were in no mood to listen. They issued an ultimatum that they must not find me in the inn in the evening. I must pack off. They held out dire consequences and left. I was bewildered. My heart sank within me. I cursed all and wept bitterly.

Thereafter recovering from the grief he pondered over the problem. Then he remembered his two friends one a Hindu and another a Christian in Baroda. But his Hindu friend when contacted refused to entertain him under the pretext that his wife was conservating. Ambedkar then gave up the idea of going to his Christian friend and decided to go back to Bombay.

About this tragic episode Ambedkar states further that, "he had gone to Baroda with high hope by giving up many offers. It was war time. Many places in the Indian Educational Service were vacant. I knew very influential people in London. But I did not seek any of them. I felt that my duty was to offer my services first to the Maharaja of Baroda who had financed my education. And I was driven to leave Baroda and return to Bombay, after a stay of only eleven days." He sums up the saga of his tragic suffering in the Baroda episode in the following words :

"This scene of a dozen Parsis armed with sticks lined before me in a menacing mood and myself standing before them with a terrified look imploring for mercy is a scene which so long a period as 18 years has not succeeded in fading away. I can even now vividly recall it and never recall it without tears in my eyes. I was then for the first time that I learnt that a person who is an untouchable to a Hindu is also an untouchable to a Parsi." *

On 5th July, 1923 he registered his name in Bombay High Court. His view was that the touchable pleaders, Barristers,

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* Waiting for visa No. 2

solicitors and pleaders will help by seeing his intellectual capability. But this proved to be his illusion. The Bombay court cases were in the hands of the Hindus, Parsis and Gujaratis. It is through their firms the court cases were assigned. Dr. Ambedkar found it difficult to make entry into any of these firms on the ground of untouchability. Therefore, he had to be content himself with whatever work he got till he rose up to occupy the front benches in the Bombay court.

In the beginning of the year 1927 he entered the Bombay legislative council as its nominated member even after then also his suffering humiliation due to his untouchability did not end.

In the year 1927 the Bombay government appointed a Committee to investigate the grievances of the untouchables and Dr. Ambedkar was one of the members of the committee. The members had to tour all over the province to investigate into the allegations of injustice, oppression and tyranny practised on untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar and some other members were assigned the two districts of Khandesh. Once in his tour he got down from the train at Chalisgaon and went to the village where the touchables in a village had declared the social boycott against the untouchables. The untouchables of Chalisgaon met him and requested him to stay with them for a night. After agreeing to stay he went by the train to the village near Dhulia where boycott was declared. After investigating boycott issue he came back by the next train to Chalisgaon where he saw the untouchables waiting for him at the railway station. He was garlanded after he got down from the train. He was told that the Maharwada is about two miles distance from the railway station and it is necessary to cross the river on which there is a culvert to reach the Maharwada.* After a lapse of an hour a Tonga was brought close to the platform and he got in. The Tonga began moving. The Tonga had not gone 200 paces, when there would have been a collision with a motor car. The reason was that the Tonga driver was an inexperienced man. The accident was averted only because there was a policeman who shouted loudly and the car driver pulled the car back.

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* Habitat of the Mahars was called as Maharwada.

The Tonga somehow reached the culvert on the river. There were no walls but the row of stones on the culvert. The horse instead of going straight took a turn. The wheel of the Tonga struck against the side stone so forcibly that Dr. Ambedkar was bodily lifted up and thrown down on the stone pavement of the culvert and the horse and the carriage fell down from the culvert into the river. Dr. Ambedkar fell down senseless. The Maharwada was just on the other side of the river. Dr. Ambedkar was lifted and taken to the Maharwada amidst the cries and lamentations of the men, women and children. Dr. Ambedkar's leg was fractured and he was disabled for several days. The Tongas passed and repassed the culvert every day and never has the driver failed to take the Tonga safely over the culvert.

On enquiry the fact was revealed. The delay on the railway station was caused because that the Tongawalas were not prepared to drive the Tonga with a passenger who was an untouchable. The Mahars could not tolerate that Dr. Ambedkar should walk to their quarters. They made an agreement with the owner of the Tonga who was a touchable who refused to drive the Tonga in which an untouchable was seated. Thus the owner of the Tonga gave his Tonga on hire as he will not drive it. In fact among the Mahars none could drive the Tonga as it was not their business. But some one was made to drive the Tonga who did not know the driving. To save the dignity of Dr. Ambedkar the Mahars of Chalisgaon put his life in jeopardy.

Dr. Ambedkar then learnt that a Hindu Tongawala, no better than a menial, has a dignity by which he can look upon himself as a person who is superior to all untouchables even though he may be a Barrister-at-law.

Perhaps it is these bitter events that he experienced right from his childhood to the major part of his life that moulded his thought and action while leading the struggle for the emancipation of the untouchables, while guiding the nation whenever the occasion demanded and while playing his role in framing the constitution for free India.

Bhimrao suffered humiliating treatment right from his boyhood when he was in primary school at Satara to the passing of his B.A. examination in the end of 1912 but nowhere there is an indication of showing his concern to the struggle against the practice of untouchability upto the event of meeting the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda in Bombay to place his problem of securing the accommodation at Baroda after joining the Baroda state service. But to his surprise the Maharaja asked him whether he was interested in studying abroad in Columbia University for securing higher degree and asked him what will he do after getting higher degrees. Bhim's reply was that by his higher studies he will know how his people (untouchables) have become the degraded ones and he will work for the educational upliftment of them. Maharaja simply smiled and asked him to apply for the scholarship to study abroad in Columbia University of America.

The Maharaja awarded fellowship to him for three years from July 1913 and Bhimrao reached the city of New York in America in the third week of July 1913. Here in America he experienced within a small span of his stay a big miracle. The miracle was that he saw that nowhere he is an untouchable. He is a free man mixing and moving freely with people. He found no restriction anywhere while moving freely in any public place and nobody bothered about who he was. He was thus a new man completely changed in his total outlook. The letter written on 4th of August, 1913 from New York to Shri Shivanak Gaunak Jamedar by him speaks about his widened outlook. Jamedar was a retired military pensioner and the friend of Bhim's father. He was keenly interested in the educational progress of Bhim. He had come to the sea port in Bombay to see Bhimrao off and wished bon-voyage with tears in his eyes. The gist of Bhim's letter is as follows.

My dear Jamedar,

I am deeply thankful to you for the interest you have usually taken in me and I shall ever remember the tears of a fatherly affection that fell down from your eyes when you came to wish me good-bye.

After explaining the importance of education to the children and the role of the parents Bhim stated that "We must now entirely give up the idea that parents give "Janma" (Birth) to the child and not "Karma" (fate). They can mould the destiny of their children : and if we but follow this principle be sure that we shall soon see better days and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persued side by side with female education the fruits of which you can very well see verified in your own daughter.

"Let your mission, therefore, be to educate and preach the idea of education to those at least who are near to and in close contact with you."

Here the idea that the education is the panacea for all the evils among the untouchable has been strongly advocated and the Hindu theory of fatalism that the man's present position is determined by his Karmas (acts) of the last births has been rejected by him outright and he asks Jamedar to preach against the theory of fatalism to the people of the untouchable communities.

In Columbia University, New York, as he was advancing in his studies he was also advancing towards taking a definite stand on Indian situation. There were many organisations and clubs started by Indian students in America. Bhimrao used to attend their programmes but he never participated in their programmes or deliberations. There was a Maharashtrian's Club in New York. Bhimrao was the member of it. Dr. Hardikar was one of the leaders of this Club. The problems of Indian politics were often discussed in the Club. Bhimrao used to attend the debates and discussions but never participated in any discussion because here nobody was interested in social and religious problems that India faced very acutely.

In November 1914 the famous leader of Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai came to New York. Bhim and Lala Lajpat Rai got acquainted with each other while sitting in the Columbia University Library for reading books. Some Indians had formed the Gadar party (revolutionary party) in America to carry the propoganda against the British rule in India. These people met Lala Lajpat Rai and with their help the Rai formed the organisation called "Indian Home Rule League of America", to carry on the India's freedom struggle there in America. Dr. Hardikar who was studying Medicine in Michigan University became the General Secretary of this organisation. Lala Lajpat Rai began serious propoganda against the British Rule in India in America by organising the public meetings. Lalaji also made serious efforts to prepare Bhimrao for his participation in the movement. Bhimrao told Lalaji very categorically that he will not join them as they are struggling to free themselves from the British Rule by keeping the slavery of the untouchables in India as it is. Hence, he asserted that, the untouchables will not participate their movement. Perhaps his contention was, though he did not reveal it to Lalaji, that India was ruled by her own men for several years in the past but it is during their rule only the practice of untouchability was hardened more stringently. Bhimrao, therefore, did not attend the conference of the Indian students organised by Lalaji in the month of September 1916.

With this view in mind, Bhimrao ignored them and remained involved in his studies and he made a mark by his writing works there.

His first writing was a research paper which he read in the Anthropology Seminar of Dr. Golden-Weizer as a compulsory part of study for doctoral thesis in Columbia University of America. He read the paper entitled "Castes in India, Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development", on 9th May, 1916.

The depth of understanding which he exhibited in this paper shows tremendous reading that he did to prepare this paper which was of a very high intellectual level. The ideas that he developed in this paper on castes provided him, it seems, not only the thorough knowledge of caste system in India but also the process through which the system has remained strong till day.

To show the all embracing magnitude of the caste system of the Hindus he quotes Dr. Ketkar (Caste, P. 4)who says that

"As long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem."

Dr. Ambedkar in his paper mainly dealt with the aspects of "genesis, mechanism and the spread of caste system." His paper proceeds that the population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. All these stocks of people came into India from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state. They all in turn elbowed their entry into the country by fighting with their predecessors, and after a stomachful of it settled down as peaceful neighbours.

Though the thorough amalgamation of various stocks was not possible yet the homogeneity of culture was easily possible. Ethnically all people were heterogeneous. Yet it was the unity of culture that was the basis of homogeneity. There was no country that could rival the Indian peninsula with respect to the unity of its culture. It has not only a geographical unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity. It is its cultural unity that covers the land from end to end. It is because of this homogeneity that caste becomes a problem to be explained. If the Hindu society were a mere federation of mutually exclusive units the matter would have been simple. But the caste is parcelling of an already homogenous unity and the explanation of the genesis of caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling.

He examined the definitions of caste explained by Mr. Senart, Mr. Nesfield, Sir Herbart Risley and Dr. Ketkar and opined that "Their mistake lies in trying to define caste as an isolated unit by itself, and not as a group within, and with definite relation to the system of caste as a whole.

The caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy.

If we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained we shall have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of caste he opines.

Why endogamy is a key to know the caste system? In his view, exogamy was quite common in earlier days. However, in an originally exogamous population an easy working out of endogamy is a grave problem, and it is in the consideration of the means utilised for the preservation of endogamy is a problem and it is in the means utilised for the preservation of endogamy against exogamy that provides the solution to our problem. Thus the superimposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste.

This way to preserve endogamy the means they used are (1) burning the widow with her deceased husband (2) compulsory widowhood (3) imposing celibacy on the widower and (4) wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable.

These means helped to create and perpetuate endogamy. Caste and endogamy are one and the same thing. This is the general mechanism of caste in the system of caste. Endogamy is the only characteristic of caste. The origin of caste mean the origin of the Mechanism for Endogamy. After explaining this he proceeded further that :

The society is always composed of classes. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social but an individual in a society is always a member of a class. When this is so then what was the class that first made itself into a caste, for class and caste are next door neighbours and it is only a span that separates the two. A caste is an enclosed class.

The question then is that what is the class that raised this enclosure first? This question in his view can be answered only indirectly. The customs mentioned above can be obtained in only one caste namely the Brahmins who occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy. Their observances in non-Brahmin castes is neither strict nor complete. Hence the strict observances of these customs and social superiority arrogated by the Brahmins made them to raise the curtain of caste around them first. He thus concluded the paper.

During his stay in Columbia University he wrote three research works namely 1) Castes in India (discussed above) which was read in the Seminar on 9th May, 1916 (2) Administration and Finance of the East India Company, submitted to the University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in May 1915 and (3) The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India in the middle of 1916 as Ph.D. dissertation. His Columbian research amply reveals his zeal, originality and the ability of going into the depth of any chosen subject of research. This pioneering research also suggests that his purpose of research in his view must be that it should deal with bringing out evils crept in society and suggest the remedies to end the same. This view has been suggested in his paper, which he read on caste.

In his dissertation on Administration And Finance of East India Company he has amply proved with details the East India Company Government's squeezing policy towards Indian masses who were even otherwise suffering from poverty.

It is well known that the East India Company was a trading company founded in England by the share holders to trade in the East and it entered India in the early years of 17th century. It acquired land in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, raised militia and in the battle of plassy won the victory against the Nabab of Bengal and acquired the territory of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. By 1818 the Company won the whole of India except Punjab and Sind which were also annexed in 1848-49.

The conquered territories were ruled by the proprietors of the East India Company that functioned in England. The share holders elected by ballot 24 members who constituted the Court of Proprietors and it is these proprietors who ruled India in the interest of India and England. Ambedkar narrates further that :

The court of proprietors again elected 24 members who constituted the court of Directors. All appointments in civil and military services were made by the Directors. There was a third body called the Board of Commissioners – The Board of Control to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns, which in any way related to the civil or military government or revenue of the British territorial possessions. The court of Directors were directed to deliver to this Board copies of all minutes, orders, resolutions etc. within eight days.

The supreme local administration of India vested in the Governor of Fort William in Bengal making the other two governors of Bombay and Madras subordinate to that of Bengal who was made the Governor-General of India.

The appointment of the Governor General was made by the court of Directors subject to the approval of the crown. The Governor General was aided by a Council known as the Supreme Council. Originally it was composed of four members who were Company servants of atleast ten years standing in India. The Commander in Chief was the ex-officio and was the fifth member. This supreme council of five members was expanded by adding to it six legislative members of ten years standing in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and north western provinces and Supreme Court judge and the Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

The Governor–General can veto the decision of the Supreme Council and initiate his own legislative measures. All appointment including the Residents in the native states were made by him.

All revenue was collected in the name of the Supreme Government of India and was transferred to and controlled by the supreme treasury. There was absolutely no local fiscal autonomy, and the deficit in province was made up by the surplus in another and the entire India revenue was held responsible for the debts borrowed for wars in one particular province. In short both finance and administration were absolutely centralised in the early years of company rule in India.

After this the taxes have been explained by Dr. Ambedkar under the land revenue and the other taxes. He explains that though there were some industries here and there the country as a whole may be classed as an agricultural country and the land furnished the state with a major part of its revenue. The land revenue was collected by two modes one by zamindary system and another by Rayatwary system. The first prevailed in northern part of India and the second prevailed in southern part of India, and under the first the revenue was realised through the agents such as zamindars and the Talukdars. These paid the revenue into the treasury in one sum.

Under the Rayatwary system the owner of a single field may make his terms directly with the government. The land tax was collected by the village officers from the farmers and deposited into the government treasury through the medium of revenue officers.

Taxes : In addition to the land tax the other sources of taxes were the salt tax, custom duties on exports-imports, opium tax, license tax on spirit and liquors, wheel tax on hackneys, carts, buggies etc., sayers (unclassified) duties, judicial fees in the form of stamps, Marine Revenue, subsidies from the native states payable under treaty obligations.

These were the thirteen sources of revenue under the East India Company many of which continue to be so even today.

The table of statistics of the entire revenue itemwise for the years from 1792 to 1852-53 has been given here in the book and it enlightens the reader very much on the tax collecting policy of the Company Government in India. Not only this but a tabular arrangement of the expenditure has also been given here for the period from 1809-10 to 1857 and it is of immense value to the reader.

While explaining the expenditure side of the East India Company's rule Ambedkar quotes Prof. Adam who says that :

"The finances of the country are to be judged from the view point of developmental expenditure and among the developmental expenditure of a country the public work takes a prominent position. "Dr. Ambedkar says : Applying the same criterion we are compelled to condemn the entire fiscal system of the East India Company." He explains further that "Before 1853 the administration was engaged in war operations and not only did it not project any new scheme of public works but it allowed the old ones to fall rapidly into decay."

In support of his view Ambedkar quotes Mr. John Bright who says:

"With regard to the public works if I were speaking for the natives of India, I would state this fact that in a single English country there are more roads – more travellable roads than are to be found in the whole of India, and I would say also that the single city of Manchester in the supply of its inhabitants in the single article of water has spent a larger sum of money than the East India Company has spent in the fourteen years from 1834 to 1848 in public works of every kind throughout the whole of its dominions. I would say that the real activity of the Indian government has been an activity of conquest and annexation."

Dr. Ambedkar says further that what was the pressure of the tax we do not know. Circumstantial evidence goes to prove that it must have been great.

He adds then that : the cost of Government by Europe and the growth of a standing army in each presidency and other sources of legitimate or illegitimate expenses swallowing up all the anticipated surplus, and leaving nothing for the development of the resources of the country or even maintenance of roads, canals and other public works constructed by native rulers.

Dr. Ambedkar has very graphically discussed the burden of debts increased on Indians by raising the debts both in England and in India due to constant wars that were waged by the English rulers of East India Company until the end of the Company rule after the mutiny in 1857. He quotes Ramesh Chandra Dutt who says that "it will be seen that if there were fourteen years of deficit, there were thirty two years of surplus; and if the deficit amounted altogether to nearby seventeen millions the surplus amounted to nearly forty-nine millions. The net financial results of Indian administration was therefore a surplus of thirty two millions during forty six years. But this money was not saved in India, nor devoted to irrigation or other works of improvement, it went as a continuous tribute to England to pay dividends to the Company's shareholders;

and as the flow of the money from India was not sufficient to pay the dividends, there was an increasing debt called the public debt of India." (India under Early British Rule, P. 408).

The public debt of India, at least under the Company's rule was entirely the creation of war.

Dr. Ambedkar explains that though the Company in the Act 1858 legally extinct continues to live for all practical purposes and enjoys her dividends even to this day in the shape of interest paid out of Indian revenues.

In his concluding remarks he wrote that "It remains, however, to estimate the contribution of England to India. Apparently the immenseness of India's contribution to England is as much astounding as the nothingness of England's contribution to India. Both are, however true statements if looked at from economic points of view. But from another point of view, if India's tribute cannot be weighed in the scales of justice and humanity then England's contribution cannot be weighed in the scale of gold and silver England has added nothing to the stock of gold and silver in India : on the contrary, she has depleted India "the sink of the world."

His concluding passage is exceedingly noteworthy. He writes :

"England's contribution lies in an uneconomic realm."

"Englishmen can look back on their work in India, if not with unalloyed satisfaction, at least with some legitimate pride. They have conferred on the people of India what is the greatest human blessing peace. They have introduced western education, bringing an ancient civilised nation in touch with modern institutions and life. They have built up an administration which, though it requires reform with the progress of the times, is yet, strong and efficacious. They have framed wise laws, and have established courts of justice, the purity of which is as absolute as in any country on the face of the earth. These are results which no honest critic of British work in India regards without high admiration."

Ambedkar comments further on his above statement that

"But whether mere animal peace is to be preferred to economic destitution, let every one decide for himself."

His third and last Columbian writing was his Ph.D. thesis entitled "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India." This was the study in the provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance.

Here in this thesis Dr. Ambedkar explains that before the Act of 1833 all the three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras and Bengal were functioning almost independently. Each was responsible for the maintenance of services essential for peace, order and good government within its jurisdiction and was free to find money by altering or levying taxes or borrowing on credit to meet its obligations. He explains that :

"All this was changed by the Act of 1833, which vested the revenues and the government of the different territories in the Governor General of India in Council. The revenues and the services became by law the revenues and the services of the Government of India. The Provinces became the collecting and the spending agencies of the Government of India. They ceased to levy any new taxes or to collect the old ones in their own name. In like manner the services they administered became a charge of the Government of India, which distributed among the various provinces sums from the consolidated fund for the maintenance of the services. It was by law provided that without the previous sanction of the Government of India the provinces were not to spend the fund allotted to them in creating any new office or granting any salary, gratuity or allowance. The public debt was no longer a charge upon the revenues of any particular Presidency alone, nor did there remain any question of primary or secondary liability as between the revenues of the other presidencies. All the provincial debts became the debts of the Government of India and were charged to the revenues of India as a whole."

It is due to this imperial system that when the crown took over from the Company in 1858 the Government of India found the opportunity of interference with all the details of provincial administration.

Ambedkar writes that it is a melancholy fact that as a system of finance it was miserable. Out of 24 years from 1834 to 1858 the Government annual budget was in surplus only for seven years whereas it was in big deficit for over 17 years. In his opinion the policy was unsound for various reasons. In matters of state economy the expenditure to be incurred should determine the magnitude of revenue to be raised.

The land tax was an important source of the imperial revenue. The land in India from the time immemorial has been regarded as the property owned by the state. The cultivator is not the owner but the occupier of the land. It is on this assumption the land tax has been imposed irrespective of the question of justice. The land tax was so heavy that the system of tax prevailing in India might well have been called a near approach to the single tax system.

While the land tax prevented the prosperity of the agricultural industry the custom taxes hampered the manufactures of the country. There were internal costumes and external customs and both were equally injurious to trade and industry. For the purpose of transit duties the country was artificially divided into a number of small customs areas and the goods were taxed in each area.

The customs laws internal and external blockeded trade and smothered industry. Hence the justice in taxation was conspicuous by its absence. The landlords who passed their lives in conspicuous consumption and vicarious leisure on the earnings of the poor tenants or the many European civil servants who fattened themselves on pay and pickings, were supremely exempted from any contribution towards the maintenance of the government whose main activities were directed towards the maintenance of pomp and privilege. On the other hand, the salt tax and the Moturpha and other oppressive taxes continued to harrass the industrious poor.

Thus Ambedkar asserts that when their revenue laws are harmful to the resources of the people they must blame none but themselves for their empty treasury. Almost fifty percent of the total revenue was spent on war. Even the loans that were raised were war loans. Ambedkar opines further that the Indians of course formed a very large portion of the military and if the scales of salaries fixed for the European and native forces were equal the result would have been favourable to the natives of the country, though it cannot be said to have excused that huge military expenditure. But the scales of salaries for the Europeans and natives were so grossly unequal that one European drew on an average more than salaries of four natives put together, so this expenditure whether from the stand-point of public utility or private employment did not benefit the population which contributed to the revenues of the state.

The civil and political charges of the revenue expenditure which absorbed nearly 10 percent of the revenue was not shared by the native population which bore its burden. As a result of conquest the natives naturally came to occupy a secondary position. The conquest had degraded the status of the natives. It had produced certain sense of distrust in the minds of Englishmen for the natives.

Thus the bulk of the money raised by injurious taxes was spent in unproductive manner. The agencies of war absorbed much of the total funds leaving almost nothing for the agencies of progress.

Administrative and public needs had grown beyond measure after the Mutiny. "Thousands of Englishmen not only soldiers but Englishmen of almost every class poured into India. The country had to be covered with railways and telegraphs, roads and bridges. Canals needed to save the people from starvation. The barracks with sanitary provision were needed for the great European army.

The police was in a shameful condition throughout India. The inadequacy of the pay given to the native judges and other subordinate officers was a matter of public scandal. The growing needs of improvements, hitherto neglected demanded an ever increasing scale of taxation.

This was the condition when the crown took over the charge of India's Administration from the East India Company in 1858. The result of the cost of the Mutiny of 1857 left Imperial Finance in a precarious condition. The responsible authorities gave thought to the idea of making the local Governments partners in the great joint stock of Indian finance and enlist their interest and co-operation with the Government of India instead of keeping them on the footing of agents and servants.

This view gradually led to the formation of an idea for changing United India into the United States of India. The aim was to substitute a federal system for the Imperial system.

According to the plan each province was to be allowed to keep its revenues and meet its charges from them. The central government was to have its own separate resources and if there is any need it should be supplemented by the provinces from their own revenues. There should be separate budgets – central and provincial based on genuine division of services and allocation of revenues.

Dr. Ambedkar has shown in the first five chapters that the scheme of assigned revenue to the provinces worked well in the first phase of the rule of the crown covering the period upto 1882-83.

He explains that two steps were taken in the process of the evolution of the provincial finance. One in 1871 and another in 1877. On the former occasion the Imperial Government supplied the Provincial government with fixed lumpsum assignments from the Imperial treasury. On the latter occasion this mode of supply was partly replaced by assigning certain sources of revenue for the use of Provincial Governments.

The study of the growth of Provincial Finance as it developed stage by stage comes to an end on first April, 1921. It is on this date the Provincial Finance in British India entered on an entirely new phase.

His study of political ideas particularly the ideas on democracy has reached the high water mark in his book part IV while dealing with the provincial finance under the Government of India Act of 1919.* He explains that in the parliamentary type of government the centre of authority has been placed under the control of those who are supposed to represent the popular will. That this means the government by consent. It places the function of the government in the hands of those whose views are in accord with those of the majority of the legislature. In his view this is the only form of government which provides for a powerful executive which is necessary for a stable government without rendering it irresponsible which can endanger the essentials of good government. It throws the responsibility on the holders of high office justifying their every act failing will result their dismissal. It renders the legislature supreme in legislation and administration. Hence it forms a government to make life possible and good. No other form of government can so effectively prevent order degenerating into tyranny or progress blocked in the name of peace. The parliamentary form of government though originally developed as an accident in the evolution of the British constitution, it has been most eagerly adopted as the most fundamental institution by many countries whose political convulsions needed it.

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* This thesis was published in 1927 in which the reforms of 1919 were also included.

In India it is a parliamentary system under the British rule without Parliamentary Executive. Indian executive made peace or war without the fear of its dismissal by the legislature. It taxed as it pleased and spent as it liked without any fear of being censured from the legislature. The Indian Executive was appointed and dismissed by the crown on the advice of the Secretary of State for India who was a member of the English Ministry and was in no way responsible to the Indian legislature. Ambedkar asserts that the influence of British Parliament over Indian affairs underwent a decided change for the worse. The parliament exerted its influence to strengthen the Executive in India against popular clamour. In fact the Indian Executive was in reality an uncontrolled body of bureaucrats in the exclusive charge of Indian affairs. To sum up it can be said that the Indian Executive has sacrificed progress to order whether its action is in the field of legislation or finance.

India can be compared with only a very few countries in matters of social evils that it suffers from. In his view law is a means by which the society can be repaired from its ills that it suffers from.

But the British Government in India did not do certain things that were most essential for India's progress because by reason of its being impersonal and also by reason of its character, motives and interests it could not sympathise with the living forces operating in the Indian society. It, therefore, did not advance education, disfavoured Swadeshi and stood against the growing nationalism as this went against its gain. There were things which it would have done. But it did not do due to the fear of provoking possible resistance to its authority. It is for this reason the Government of India dared not abolish the caste system, prescribe monogamy, alter the laws of succession, legalise intermarriage or venture to tax the tea planters. Progress involves interference with the existing code of social life and interference is likely to cause resistance. Nonetheless a government which is of the people and is not detached from them can venture on the path of progress, because it is in a position to know where obedience will end and resistance will begin. But the Indian Executive not being of the people could not feel the pulse of the people. So far as the moral and social life was concerned, the change of government by the Moghals to a government by the British was only a change of rulers rather than a change of system.

The natives of India found themselves under a government distinguished in no vital respect from those under which they had toiled and worshipped, lived and died through all their weary and forgotten history, from a political stand point, the change was but the replacement of one despotism by another.

He critically observes that

"There was some development in material progress is not to be denied. But no people in the world can long remain contented with the benefits of peace and order, for they are not dumb brutes. It is foolish to suppose that a peace will indefinitely favour a bureaucracy because it has improved their roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected their transportation by rail, carried their letters by penny post, flashed their messages by lightening, improved their currency, regulated their weights and measures, corrected their notions of geography, astronomy and medicine and stopped their internal quarrels."

He then goes ahead and argues that these are the measures that can keep the people satisfied temporarily and not perpetually. Under the influence of western ideas of representative government Indians are now demanding the change in the form of government in India. He then concludes that "A parliamentary form of government with a Parliamentary Executive is the goal that Indians have laid before them now."

Then after explaining the record of how repressive laws were enacted from time to time to suppress the Indians demand for parliamentary form of government with Parliamentary Executive he opines that slowly the government found that force was not a sure means of carrying on the government of a country. As a verdict of history he quoted Edmund Burke who had said :

"The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again : a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for conciliation failing, force remains, but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left."

By quoting this passage of Burke he has asserted that the efforts of English Government to suppress the Indian demand for popular Government is not a solution.

The efforts that were made to enlarge the power of legislature over the executive through the Acts of 1861, 1892 and 1909 have been explained showing that the supremacy of the executive was maintained (1) by means of permanent majority of officials of the government nominated to the legislature, (2) by controlling the rules of procedure although election was admitted by the Act of 1892 as a basis of the composition of the legislature. The elected members were in a minority and hence they could not give effect to the wishes of the people whom they represented.

Before 1909 whatever conflict there was was manifested outside the legislature. By the reforms of 1909 an attempt was made to make the legislature independent and at the same time to muzzle it. Hence the Act of 1909 served only to bring to the surface the deep seated conflict between the Executive and the forces agitating the minds of the people.

While inside the legislative assembly there were signs of hardening the opposition while outside the legislature sense of national consciousness and the desire for political power were growing rapidly in the minds of educated Indians. As a result of the realisation of this fact those who had given their thought to the political reconstruction of the country agreed that a mere reform of the procedure will not do. Only a reform of the constitution will save the state from anarchy he added.

After unsuccessful functioning of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 Indian leaders suggested many reforms effecting an alteration in the Constitution of India. One notable scheme was the scheme suggested by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League together which popularly came to be known as the Congress-League scheme. Under this scheme explained Ambedkar that they demanded a four-fifth majority of elected members in the central legislature. In matters of Executive they demanded that one half of the members of the Executive should be Indians and they should be elected by the elected members of the legislature. The legislature should have complete financial and legislative powers. The resolutions passed by the legislature were to be binding on the Executive.

Such was the latest, most complete and most authoritative presentation of the claims of the leading Indian political organisations on behalf of the Indian people. After stating this matter of fact Dr. Ambedkar's critical apprehension was as follows :

"But when we come to analyse the scheme it speaks poorly of the political genius of the Indian politicians. The scheme did not ask that the legislature should have the power to make or unmake an Executive as it pleased, if it had asked that then the scheme would have been the scheme for responsible government. But what it asked for was to compel an Executive, which was irremovable, to conduct the administration of the country according to the orders of the legislature."

He added further that :

"Those who framed the Congress-League scheme merely increased the Indian element in the Executive and the legislature and added provisions aimed at converting advice into control without realising what was to happen if the Executive refused to be bound by the wishes of the legislature.... some form of a Parliamentary government with a parliamentary executive was the only way of avoiding the conflict."

Ambedkar declared that :

It is from this standpoint that the announcement of August 20, 1917 stands as a landmark in the annals of the development of the Indian Constitution. It is on this day that the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons in England that :

"The policy of his Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible."

In his view this momentous announcement marks the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one. It definitely abandoned the old idea that the Executive might, if it saw fit, consult the wishes of the legislature. It only means that under the old system the legislature had only the role of influencing and criticising the executive but it had never the power of controlling it. Under the declaration the aim was to endow the legislature with power to make or unmake the government, so that it would be not only a government of the people and for the people, but by the people.

One of the merits of Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the Constitutional Reforms was that it showed that the Congress-league scheme of political Reform did not embody the principle for the recognition of which they were agitating so long. Their scheme had contained the non-Parliamentary Executive under the Parliamentary system. Being convinced of their error the Congress-league politicians abandoned their scheme in favour of the proposals contained in the Joint Report.

In consonance with their announcement they decided to introduce a responsible government of a limited character in the Provincial Governments.

Dr. Ambedkar summarises the centre-state relations in matters of finance as suggested in the Montagu-Clamsford Reforms in the following words. He states that :

"Under the old regime the provincial Budgets had to be passed by the Finance Department of the Government of India, the Provincial Accounts to be supervised by the Accountant-General and audited by the Controller and Auditor-General of the Government of India and appropriation reports submitted to the Finance Department of the Government of India. All this is changed under the new regime. The Provincial Budget, instead of being passed by the Finance Department of the Government of India, is framed by the Finance Department constituted in each province under the Reforms Act and is voted item by item by the provincial legislature. The accounts of the provinces still continue to be supervised and audited by the Officers of the Government of India, but the important point under the new regime which is the hallmark of provincial independence is that the appropriation reports, instead of being sent to the Government of India for action, are now sent to the Committee of Public Account constituted from amongst the members of the provincial legislature which sanctioned the Budget for report that the money voted by the legislature was spent within the scope of the grants made by the legislature."

This effected the demarcation of the field for the governance of India into central and provincial.

He states that without sound finance no sound government is possible; without sound government no sound finance is possible.

In the light of this dictum he asserts that whether the provincial government will undertake economy or increase the taxes depends upon the kind of system of Government established in the Provinces by the Reform Act of 1919.

The system is known as Dyarchy. Under it the Executive of the province divided into the Governor in Council and the Governor in Ministry. Under the system the subjects are marked as Provincial from the centre. The subjects marked as Provincial were further divided into reserved and Transferred. The reserved subjects were in charge of the Governor in Council and transferred in charge of the Governor in Ministry. The Provincial Executive is not answerable to the Provincial legislature in matters of reserved subjects. Executive here is not removable by the legislature and in that sense the Executive is a non-Parliamentary Executive. The other part of the Provincial Executive, namely the Ministry in charge of the Transferred subjects is recruited from the elected members of the Provincial legislature, which is made responsible to the Provincial legislature, which is based on a more or less popular franchise, and is removable by it, and in that sense is a Parliamentary Executive.

However, if the demand relates to the reserved subject and if the Governor certifies that the demand provided for is essential for the discharge of his responsibility the legislature is just helpless. The Provincial government is empowered in relation to any such demand. Thus under the Dyarchical

Executive the Governor in Council had very little anxiety for reduction of expenditure or for the increase of the taxation.

Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, poses a question that can such a government tackle the problem of sound finance? The reserved subjects are those which mostly pertain to peace and order, while the transferred subjects are those which largely pertain to progress. But the policy of the bureaucracy has been the sacrifice progress to order. It is, therefore, obvious that under the new constitution the popular legislature should favour more the subjects leading towards progress. It is, therefore, evident that Dyarchy is not a good form of government because there is no sound finance system in the provinces under it. Dyarchy is a bad form of Government because it is opposed to the principle of collective responsibility. In the back of collective responsibility a policy enunciated in one department may fail to fructify for want of helpful action in other departments that harmonizing force can only be found in the principle of collective responsibility. When this precaution is taken the measure becomes the common act of the Ministry.

But having made a partition of governmental work, Dyarchy must be said to have introduced an element of divided responsibility in the Executive. It is true that there are no two separate legislatures. But there is an understanding that when ministers will act in matters of transferred subjects the councillors will advise them, and that when councillors will act in matters of reserved subjects the ministers will advise them. It does not alter the fact that dyarchy is a system of divided responsibility. It is not a system of government conducted in harmony with a common policy. On the other hand it is a system fraught with organised quarrel. The dividing line between dyarchy and anarchy is very narrow.

Moreover the ministers are not the elected members by the legislature but are chosen by the governor. The ministers who have the confidence of the legislature and the confidence of the governor are two entirely different things.

In the end he concludes that the "Hybrid executive with divided responsibility, division of functions, and reservation of powers, cannot make for a good system of government, and where there is no good system of government there can be little hope for a sound system of finance." He then makes his own suggestion to reform this system in his below mentioned words :

"The primary solution is that there should be an undivided government with a collective responsibility. This can, however, be achieved only when the whole of government derives its mandate from a common source. It is only encouraging to know that Dyarchy is but a transitional system. The only question is how long and protracted will the period of transition be."

He then adds to conclude that the justification for introducing a dyarchical form of government rests on the supposition that India is at present ill-prepared to sustain a system of responsible government for owing to the lack of education and political experience. Indian electorates are not yet intelligent enough to formulate their requirements intelligently or impose a mandate upon their representatives. The power which is going to fall in the hands of the educated men who come from the upper strata of Indian society, due to inveterate social prejudices from which these educated men suffer there is a great danger of abusing the political power by these men against the masses, unless the social forces which now hold the people are withdrawn to replace them by new ones, such a new system cannot work to deliver the goods to masses among whom the system works. However, an argument is that :

"In all countries responsibility in the beginning has been entrusted to a very small section of the people and the government has been in the hands of a small educated minority, who have naturally cared for the interests of the uneducated masses pending the spread of education and the consequent extension of the franchise."

On this Dr. Ambedkar concludes that this is the familiar line of argument which is usually put forth in India by the political radicals and social Tories.* If we put aside the painful story of the harsh, cruel and inhuman treatment which the classes in India have accorded to the masses, truth is on their side, for in every country there have been downtrodden communities suffering from social oppression and social injustice, and yet no country has had to be without political power on that account. But those who use this argument forget that if other countries like America with her Negroes and Japan with her Hitas are in possession of political power without having first destroyed social inequality, it is due to the fact of their having been in possession of military power. Military force and moral force are the two chief means to political freedom and a country which cannot generate former must cultivate the latter. Thus in India the political problem is entirely a social problem, and a postponement of its solution virtually postpones the day when India can have a free government subject to the mandate of none but her own people.*

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* Tory is a member of the conservative party in England.

This writing goes to prove that while studying in Columbia University to produce his Ph.D. thesis Dr. Ambedkar had already evolved his socio-political, economic and religious ideas on which he built up his movements for casteless society, against untouchability, and for strengthening the Parliamentary system of democracy.

It is known that after returning from America via England in August 1917 he again went back to England in July 1920 to complete his D.Sc. thesis in Economics and secure barrister's degree from Grays Inn.

In London he functioned as almost a knowledge thirty man. His financial background was poor. Whatever money he had earned in his professorial job in Bombay he carried some with him to England by keeping some part of it with his family for its maintenance in Bombay. Therefore, he had to live a very miserly and hard life in London. During his three year stay in London he ransacked the libraries of London School of Economics and Politics, the library of India office, London, the library of London Museum and some other libraries. The Diary of London Museum says about him that

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* This summary has been taken from his Ph. D. thesis "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India" Govt. of Maharashtra Publication, Vol. 6

Mr. Ambedkar was the first man to enter the library and last man to leave it. At the end of the third year he submitted his thesis to London University for the award of D.Sc. degree in Economics on the subject "The Problem of rupee". Simultaneously he also earned his law degree from Grays Inn.

But the examiners of his D.Sc. thesis did not agree with his opinion as it was a harsh criticism on the imperialistic Policy of British Government in matters of ratio between Rupee and sterling. He was, therefore, asked by the examiners to revive the thesis in some respect which he did after returning to India and got the degree of D.Sc. in Economics in 1923.

After returning to Bombay initially he found it difficult to earn money for the maintenance of his family. However, he registered his name in Bombay High Court for practicing law and then turned to his life mission, of leading the untouchables towards their liberation from their age-old slavery which they suffered almost for three thousand years.

Then the thought came to his mind that there must be some central organisation on which behalf the movements can be launched and hence he founded an organisation called "Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha" after some discussion with the social workers around him. It was founded on July 20, 1924 and was registered under the Act xxi of 1860. Its office was situated at Damodar Hall, Bombay 12. The aims and objects of the Sabha were :

a) To promote the spread of education among the Depressed classes by opening Hostels or by employing such other means as may seem necessary or desirable.

b) To promote the spread of culture among the Depressed classes by opening libraries, social centres and classes or study circles.

c) To advance and improve the economic condition of the Depressed classes by starting Industrial and Agricultural schools.

d) To represent the grievances of the Depressed classes.

e) To organise or help any club, association or any movement calculated to bring about the general enlightenment, social and economic betterment of the Depressed classes.

Dr. Ambedkar himself became the Chairman of the Managing Committee and Shri Shivatarkar the Secretary.*

In a note of appeal explaining the aim and purpose of the Depressed Classes Institute (Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha) he stated that the Depressed Classes Institute is an organisation of the Depressed classes which is conducted by the members of the Depressed classes in the interest of the Depressed classes. The aim of the institute is to raise the Depressed classes from their present day downtrodden condition to a status of social and political equality in Indian society and to promote their economic welfare. The high caste Hindus were interested only in their family reforms like the end of the ban on widow remarriage, the end of the custom of child marriage, the education of women, end of the sati (burning the woman on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband) etc. but were not interested in the reorganisation of Hindu society into a casteless social organisation. Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, was not much interested their participation in his movement. He addressed the untouchables that under the social system of the Hindus some are by birth impure and unholy and some are by birth holy and pure. Those who are impure and unholy for them there is no means to purify and make them holy in the socio-religious system of the Hindus and hence all avenues of their progress and liberation are closed to them. They must die where they are born is the Hindu view of life. He asserted further that the Non-Brahmins also suffer from some social disabilities in comparison with the Brahmins but the ways to their economic welfare and education are open to them. Hence they are bound to rise sooner or later but this is not the case with the untouchable. Their very touch is religiously forbiddened. Their localities are away from the Hindu habitats and they are not tolerated in the places of earning and schools except manual labouring at segregated places.

He, therefore, appealed the untouchables asking them that they must resort to the ideal of self-help as slavery can be abolished only by the struggle of the slaves themselves.

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* Educate, Organise and Agitate was the motto of the Sabha.

The Sabha started an hostel for highschool boys at Solapur in January 1925. The Sabha also started an institution to develop interest among the untouchable students and others for reading, for knowledge, social service etc. His work of awakening and educating the depressed classes through his lectures by organising public meetings, conferences, etc. began unabatedly after the foundation of Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha. The third annual conference of the Sabha was held on 10-11 April, 1925 at Nipani of Belgaum District in Bombay Presidency.

It was here he clearly spelt out his policy of future course of action on which his struggle would go on as a liberation movement of the untouchables. He referred to the Satyagraha at Vyakom in Kerala where some roads near the temple were forbiddened for the use of untouchables. Even Gandhiji went there to plead the case for untouchables. But all efforts were ended in failure. On this Dr. Ambedkar added that it is a good sign that some leaders in India have accepted the idea that whichever way you may go the social reform will stand in the way as the need of the hour. The Brahmin-Non-Brahmin quarrels, the problems of high caste Hindus and untouchables and Hindu-Muslim dilemma would have all been minimised had the leaders accepted the social reform programme right from the beginning. But now the wisdom has somehow dawned on them with the advent of Gandhiji in Indian politics. However, he argued that, to what extent Gandhiji is serious about the problem of untouchables is a matter of doubt because the stress that he lays on the use of khadi is not the same that he gives on the problem of untouchables.

The temple priests at Vyacom argued with Gandhiji, he asserted that, the practice of untouchability has been recognised by the Shastras (books of the religion). If it is really so, we kick out those Shastras. We want equality in society and equal justice to all with equal rights to everybody. This, however, does not mean that the rich should be made poor and the poor the rich. What we expect to happen is that the opportunity should be given to all equally to make progress in life, he added.

He told the untouchables that wherever the rights were taken away there the deprived people fought against the privileged. In America on the problem of the rights of the Negroes there was a quarrel that went on for a number of years and ultimately there was a great civil war that went on for six years. In France the struggle continued for 10 to 12 years and the people of lower classes killed many upper class people to establish their equal rights. The lost rights are never regained without struggle. We are suppressed under injustice, contempt and ignominies and we are suffering all that meakly and quietly. We are neither aware of it, nor are we unhappy over this. If anybody kicks us we suffer that peacefully. There are two reasons for this kind of humiliating living. One we are devoid of knowledge and understanding and another we are devoid of power and strength. Those who possessed these two determined our way of behaviour which was humiliating to us and advantageous to them and forced us to follow their rules of submission to them without bothering for our opinion. We are undergoing this tragedy only because of our failure to understand the genuine role of man in life. By accepting this kind of humiliating living we have on our own accepted this burden of slavery which we are carrying on our back for thousands of years. Had we punished those who have deprived of our liberty at an appropriate time we would not have been placed in this present kind of living. Therefore, he appealed in the end that they should give up old ways of living and educate their children. You have never complained about your dirty way of living imposed on you to anybody. Give up carrying away the dead animals of the caste Hindus. Give up eating the flesh of the dead animals, try to lead a life of cleanliness.

This speech of Dr. Ambedkar made its expected impact. The people immediately decided to start an hostel for boys at Belgaum. Shri B. H. Varale accepted the responsibility of running the Hostel."

Next important work of Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, in the opinion of Babasaheb Ambedkar, was the foundation of a newspaper and he used to bring this need to the notice of the members of the Sabha very often. He prepared a pamphlet in his own hand writing and placed it before the members of the Sabha on 4-11-1924. The idea that was stated by him in the pamphlet was that there should be an institution called "Bahiskrit Bharat publication Organisation" and this organisation should raise a fund of Rs. 20,000/- to purchase a press and run a newspaper. Meanwhile there occured a great event not only in the life of Babasaheb Ambedkar but also in the life of the entire untouchable communities of India and that was the Satyagraha at Mahad in Kolaba District of Bombay Presidency. This event took place on 19th and 20th of March, 1927. It was here that for the first time in Indian sub-continent the people called untouchables under their newly emerging leader Dr. Ambedkar went to the famous tank at Mahad that was called Chavadar Tank and drank the water publicly by taking the water with their own hands thereby touching the water reservoir of the tank. This was a sacrilegious act of the untouchables who were never allowed to touch the water which was exclusively meant for the caste Hindus. The untouchables who had participated in Satyagraha were severely beaten by the caste Hindus at Mahad. Not only this but even the untouchables in the villages around Mahad did not escape beating of them by the caste Hindus. The court litigations took place at Mahad. The press which was manned by the caste Hindus in Bombay Presidency took a critical view of the act of untouchables calling it as an hasty decision.

Babasaheb understood the gravity of situation and felt the need of newspaper to be run by the untouchables themselves.

It was in this circumstances of dire need the newspaper called Bahishkrit Bharat (untouchable India) was born on 3-4-1927. Babasaheb Ambedkar himself was the editor of Bahishkrit Bharat and his writing in the paper inspired the depressed classes people with new zeal of self-help, self-respect and the spirit of fighting for social justice and equal rights in a very small span of time. The paper is the most important source of information on the episode of Mahad and also on the reaction of the orthodox section of the Hindus against the Mahad Satyagraha.

More details about the contents of the "Bahishkrit Bharat" are analytically discussed in the introduction to the second part of the translated work.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
PostageRs.3
Single issue for
1½ annas.

Year 1st] Mumbai, Sunday dated 3rd April, 1927. [Issue 1st

Current Problems[§]

The students studying in training college Pune ate the food cooked by the Brahmin cooks until last year. Against this practice which was going on for the last 30 to 35 years the non-Brahmin students agitated and demanded that instead of forcing them to eat the food cooked by the Brahmin cooks the separate arrangements should be made for Brahmin and non-Brahmin students for their mess. In this agitation, to strengthen their position further the non-Brahmin students urged the Untouchable students for their support. The Untouchable students supported the non-Brahmin students in their move when the non-Brahmin students assured that they will sit in the same hall and eat the food together with the Untouchable students, sitting side by side. After this the petition was sent to the higher authorities to this effect with the signatures of both non-Brahmin and Untouchable students. It is at this juncture, Shri Bhaskarrao Jadhav, the Education Minister of Bombay presidency paid his visit to the college. While pleading their case the non-Brahmin students told the Minister that their mess arrangement should be separately made and they will take the Untouchable students with them and eat food sitting together with them. Hence, Non-Brahmin students declared that, they have the support of the Untouchable students in their demand. After hearing them the education minister assured them that their demand will be considered sympathetically. The new system was implemented on 1st of August last. In the dining hall the curtain was raised and the Brahmin non-Brahmin mess arrangement was made separately. On first day of new arrangement when the bell for the mess for food was rung the Untouchable students went in and sat in the place where non-Brahmin students used to sit but the surprising thing was that they were prevented to sit there and were asked to sit where they were previously sitting because there was no space there. After hearing this the Untouchable students told the non-Brahmin students that if this is the case then let some of the non-Brahmin students sit with the Untouchable students where Untouchable students are sitting and let some of the Untouchable students sit with non-Brahmin students where the non-Brahmin students are sitting.

[§] Babasaheb who had gone to England for prosecuting his remaining studies for the degrees of D.Sc. and Bar-at-Law returned to India on 3rd April 1923. On 20th July, 1924 he founded an organisation called "Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha" to struggle for the amelioration of the untouchables. The Sabha's first major and epoch making programme was the Satyagraha at Mahad, Dist. Kolaba, to draw water from the Chaudar Tank at Mahad. This was done on 19th and 20th March, 1927 and the Bahishkrit Bharat our newspaper under translation here was born on 3rd April, 1927.

If this is done then the efforts made by both the sections of students will bear fruits, said the Untouchable students. But the non-Brahmin students were unwilling to accept this suggestion. On the contrary they argued that when the Untouchable students are unwilling to sit to eat their food with their own men, what right do they have to claim for sitting with non-Brahmin students? But the students of various Untouchable communities sat together and ate their food on Nagpanchmi festival day and gave a befitting answer to the non-Brahmin students. However in spite of this also the non-Brahmin students did not show the courage of adhering to the promise they had made to the Untouchable students.

The non-Brahmins accuse the Brahmins that the Brahmins in the name of the national cause always think of their own selfish ends. Here it will not be wrong if the Untouchables accuse the non-Brahmins the same which the non-Brahmins accuse the Brahmins. What happened in Pune Training College can be offered as a gift to the editor of the newspaper "Din Mitra"[§] because he advocates that the Untouchables by participating in the Non-Brahmin movement should strengthen it.

2. Today there are some newspaper editors who advocate that without touching the issues like interdining and inter-caste marriages the programme of uniting the Hindus together and purifying Hinduism must go on. The editor of Marathi Newspaper called "Bhala"[†] (spear) is one among the advocates of above mentioned view. By feeding the Brahmanas, by organising the dancing boys who dance by beating the stick pieces in the Ganapati festival and by Brahmins fanaticism in keeping themselves aloof from the rest of the people due to their false notion of purity India will gain Swarajya within no time and the attacks on Hinduism can be easily repelled back is the assertion of Bhopatkar[$] who is now coming forward as a true follower of Tilak's tradition in his paper writing to support these high caste Hindus of Mahad who attacked the Untouchables when they drank the water from Chaudar Talav, a public tank of Mahad to exercise their equality right with other Hindus. By showing his empty love he has unnecessarily tried to advise the Untouchables, their leaders and the supporters of the cause of the Untouchables when they have not asked for the same from him.

Under the circumstances we would like to tell the people like Bhalakar (editor of Bhala) that for our progress we definitely need help and sympathy from the well wishers but we under no circumstances need the help from those who wish to keep the Hindu caste framework intact and show outward sympathy towards us to maintain shrewdly their religious supremacy and Guruship [right to be our preceptor] over us without caring for our rights. It is this kind of people who are the real enemies of the Untouchable communities. The innocent Hindu masses are fooled by these crafty men. We can understand the mental condition of innocent masses. We can understand if these ignorant Hindu masses indulge in atrocious acts against the Untouchables. Their atrocious acts against the Untouchables are the result of their ignorance. We firmly believe that today or tomorrow they will change their outlook and become ready to accept the principles of equality and oneness. But it is not possible even for the Brahmadeva to straighten the tails of educated dogs.

[§] Din Mitra (the friend of the poor) was a newspaper (marathi) edited by Mukundrao Patil who was a leader of Satya Shodhak Samaj. (Truthfinding Society)

[†] Bhala was a newspaper which was wedded to the cause of orthodox Hinduism.

[$] Bhopatkar was the Editor of the newspaper "Bhala"

3. Bhalakar accuses that the leaders of the Untouchables are impatiently making their ugly haste and calls them as impatient and impractical social reformers. Their only fault because of which Bhalakar accuses them is that they are asking the high caste Hindus that they should allow the Untouchables to draw water from the Public Tanks, that they should remove the blot of untouchability which they have permanently imposed on them and that they should allow the Untouchables to enter the Hindu temples. Hindu reformers believing in 'go slow' method in matters of social reform are asking us (the Untouchables' leaders) that we should attempt for our progress without hurting the feelings of high caste Hindus. On the one hand they show their sympathy towards the cause of Untouchables and on the other hand they say that yet time has not come to end the practice of untouchability. They also say that the creation of untouchability is not of today or yesterday; therefore it cannot be ended within a year or two. Hence in their view it will not be ended within a year or so. Our question to those who argue this way is: why do they mortgage their brain when they make haste in demanding Swarajya from the British Government?

Your habit of living in slavery for over 1000 to 1200 years will not disappear so quickly. Should it not take 1000 to 1200 years to dawn on the subject people the awakening against their slavery? You are not fit for Swarajya is indicated by your mentality. The causes by which you lost Swarajya are still very much existing. The high caste Hindus have shown their unfitness for Swarajya by bringing about riots against the Untouchables who had assembled at Mahad to claim for their human rights. You (caste Hindus) are not ready to accept rights of the low castes; you are not ready to treat with justice the poor and the people of weaker section. If it becomes a Hindu-Raj it will break the backbones of the poor and the weaker sections. Had not the Collector and D.S.P. been Europeans and the Police Inspector a Musalman and had the Musalmans of Mahad not given shelter to the Satyagrahis at Mahad what calamity would have fallen on the agitating Untouchables from the side of the caste Hindus is just unimaginable. Despite this stand of the caste Hindus against the rights of Untouchables, the caste Hindus are not ashamed of saying that "Swarajya is their birth right. As if the Swarajya is only their right and the Mahars and Chambhars have no rights. If you think that Mahars and Chambhars should be satisfied on the pieces of concession you throw on them why should you not be satisfied on the concessions that the British Government grants to you. Your advice that we should go slow in making demands for our rights from the caste Hindus should also apply to the caste Hindus when they make demands of political concessions from the British Government. If haste is waste it should also be so in every case. If haste is essential in political matters, it is equally and more essentially so in social matters. Running like a horse in a race and asking the people to go like a snail in socio-religious matters is a shameless hypocrisy. The Untouchables will care for a flick for such advice.

Bhalakar shows that he has sympathy for Untouchables but his sympathy is harmful and valueless. While showing his outward sympathy the Bhalakar has revealed his inner darkness in his writing for his paper Bhala against the Untouchables and their leaders. The Bhalakar says that the Untouchables should not express their feelings as if only the 18 crores of touchables alone have the feelings and seven crores of Untouchables do not have any feelings. The caste Hindus compel the Untouchables to live a hell like life and when the Untouchables speak against the caste Hindus for their wrong social attitude towards the Untouchables they complain that their feelings are hurt. Why do you hurt the feelings of English rulers by speaking against them? Hindus are conquered people hence are fit to live in slavery is the feeling of English people. Why do you then, by occupying the big positions in government services hurt their feelings?

These patriots who tell the Untouchable leaders and the Untouchables that they should not do anything that will hurt the feelings of upper caste people should also tell the upper caste people that whatever has been socially practised against the Untouchables may not be justifiable, no man or society can deprive the rights of other people. By telling this should they not open the eyes of the upper caste people? If they take this stand now will the upper caste patriots earn their popularity from their upper caste men? If this is done how will they enjoy the pride of their caste superiority over the low castes? On the contrary their tradition of 50 years in Maharashtra is to keep the innocent people in their perpetual ignorance and oppose their just agitation and struggle for their human rights. Bhalakar is born and brought up in this kind of social atmosphere which has nourished him and his likes for years. But Bhalakar and his camp men must know that we will not allow this to happen hereafter. We are telling them that they should either mend or end. If you feel that the feelings of the high caste Hindu masses should not be hurt then you should convince them that their feelings by which they regard some of their own fellow beings as socially deprived are wrong. This is your real social duty but instead of doing this you are instigating them against us by arousing their wrong feelings against us. Therefore you are the real culprits who are by hiding behind the innocent masses, attacking us but we will drag you out and expose you to the world of justice.

4. Bhalakar while writing on temple entry in Mahad episode has given wrong information. The first thing is that the people of Chambhar Community who had gathered there did not have any intention to enter the temple. Their demand was that in villages the Untouchables suffer due to the scarcity of water and hence urge was that the public water tanks should be thrown open to them. And the Mahad Municipality had

declared some of the water tanks as public water tanks from where the people of all castes and religions can draw water. Therefore the Untouchables had gathered at Mahad to claim that they had the right to draw water from there and hence they drew water from the Tank called *Chavadar*(tasty) Talav (tank). But the caste Hindus who wanted to kill the Chambhars (one of the Untouchable communities) keeping them thirsty did not like the act of Chambhars. Hence the caste Hindus spread the wrong news that now after drinking water from the Chaudar Tank the Mahars and Chambhars were thinking to enter the temple of *Veereshwar*. This they did to arouse the religious feelings of naïve Hindu masses. In Mahad episode there was no programme of temple entry. However, the Bhalakar, to misguide the Hindu public has introduced the issue of temple entry which was not the agenda of Mahad struggle. We must tell him that we think that it is our right to assert since we are also Hindus and high caste Hindus also regard us as Hindus. We with certainty feel that it is our natural right to enter the temple and worship the gods. We do not want our separate caste temples. We are not stranded in any way by the temple entry. Those who wish to worship god for them temple is necessary. If the Untouchables need their own independent temples they will definitely build those; for that they needed no advice from upper caste people.

We are going to take a final decision today or tomorrow over the temple entry. We want equal rights in society and we are going to get those by our struggle remaining in Hinduism and if the time demands we will kick Hinduism but we will gain our rights at any cost. If we are constrained to leave Hinduism then there is no question of resorting to the agitation for temple entry.

5. Bhalakar has not hesitated in threatening us (the Untouchables). We have no intention to threaten the Hindus in Pathanic[§] way. But at the same time we are also not

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[§] Pathans were the money lending people. They were Muslims who had come from Afghanistan during Bahamani rule in the Deccan. If time demanded they used to use coercive method to recover their loaned money.

interested in following Gundaism. But we will also not tolerate Gundaism which the caste Hindus have practised against us for centuries. We know how Bhalakar and his caste men and others who call themselves as Kshatriyas are terrified by mere sight of Pathans. Had we wanted to show Pathanic way to Hindus we would have done that. The Bhalakar says that if the Untouchables try to enter the temples they will be beaten in their backs like anything. But had the leaders of the Untouchables and their well wishers not enforced tolerance on Untouchable agitators who had gathered in thousands numbering almost 3500 they would have played havoc against the Gundas of caste Hindus in Mahad. Bhopatkar should remember here that instead of hitting the backs of untouchable agitators the heads of the caste Hindu leaders and the high caste Hindu masses whom their leaders had instigated against the Untouchables would have been broken and the bellies of the caste Hindu leaders would have been torn. If time comes the way in which the Namashudras of Bengal by taking the help of Muslims hit the conservative high caste Hindus in Bengal the same may happen here also.

The Bhalakar can speak of hitting the backs of Untouchables only when he is sitting in his house but while writing against the untouchables publicly he should exercise restraint. We need no sympathy from the hypocritic patriots like him. We would like to tell such people that we do not trust them even in a small measure; we give absolutely no value to their advice. If they are not interested in the struggle for our human rights let them be away from our struggle but if they come in the way of our struggle and instigate the innocent caste Hindu masses against our struggle we will not spare them. Our struggle is for just cause and we will continue our struggle till the end. The Dalits are not made of dung and wax. They are a sturdy and marshal race which has shown bravery in the battlefield. We know how Bhalakar's men are terrified by mere sight of the Musalman and European Warriors. Those who speak the language of hitting our backs should remember that we will not hesitate in breaking their heads without bothering about consequences of any kind.

6. How are the atrocities committed on so called untouchables can be seen in the incident that took place in Madhya Pradesh recently. There is a religious sect called Satanami among the untouchables and due to the efforts of this sect many reforms were brought about among the Chambhars (untouchables) there in Madhya Pradesh.

There is a news item which has appeared in newspapers recently that a Chambhar of this sect was murdered by the Brahmins and the Rajputs because he wore a sacred thread in the neck which is the sole right of the Brahmins and the high caste Hindus. When a Chambhar wore it, it was thought that it was an affront and insult to the Brahmins and Rajputs there and hence they killed the untouchable who wore the thread. How long we should tolerate the idea that wearing the thread by an untouchable is irreligious and killing him by the high caste men is religious? In short, the Brahmin-Kshatriya bravery religiously means only to hit the untouchables if they demand civil rights which the high caste Hindus enjoy. How long we should tolerate this kind of Hindu mentality? These high caste Hindus will lick the shoes of the English people; they will run away on hearing that the Muslims have come against them but they feel it as their right to suppress the untouchables and keep them in agony and misery. They should be ashamed of uttering the word Swarajya (Self-rule). Hindus have lived in slavery for ages together, yet they are not ashamed of keeping some of their own religion men in perpetual slavery for ages together.

Our Special Instruction

We have sent this specimen issue with the expectation that you will become the subscriber. If we donot hear anything from you we will presume that you have agreed to be the subscriber and we will continue to send the issue. While writing you should communicate your R.N. The letters should be addressed to Manager, Bahishkrit Bharat, Rahim Building, Second floor, Room no 51, Poyabawadi, Parel, Mumbai.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Sunday, dated 3rd April, 1927

We Are On the Scene Again

This writer had started a fortnightly newspaper called "Mook-Nayak" (leader of the dumb) on 31st January, 1920. There he had stated in the first issue itself that there is no more effective means than the newspaper to voice against the injustice done to the untouchables by the Caste Hindus and also to suggest the ways and means for their progress and total liberation from their slavery imposed on them by the high Caste Hindus from ages past. But when we throw our glance to the newspapers that are brought out in Bombay Presidency we are constrained to say that they do no other work than safeguarding the interest of their respective caste men only. They do not bother for the interests of other castes; not only this but even at times they go against the interests of others in their view points. We would like to tell such newspapers that if any one caste remains backward or is kept backward its effect will definitely have to endure by the rest of the castes. Society is like a boat; if a sailor, because of his mischief or to make fun of other sailors strikes a hole to the boat sooner or later he too has to sink along with others. Thus, it is doubtless that those who wish to harm other castes sooner or later they too will have to suffer its effects. Hence, we tell the newspapers who have their selfish motive that while harming others they will sow the seeds of harming themselves. Fortunately for us there are some newspapers which accept these viewpoints in their publications. The Papers like Din Mitra, Jagruti, Deccan Rayat, Vijayi Maratha, Dnyan Prakash, Indu Prakash, Subodh Patrika etc. often write about the problems of Untouchables. But it is also certain that these newspapers are born to devote themselves to the problems of Non-Brahmin castes whose number is very large and hence it is not possible for them to devote to the problems of the Untouchables who have enormous problems of their own. Under the circumstances, anybody can feel that to discuss the untouchables' problems which are enormous there is a need of separate paper which will devote to the cause of these underdogs. This paper is born to meet this need. To discuss especially the problems of untouchables the papers like "Somavamshiya Mitra" "Hindu Nagarika", "Vithal Vidhvamshak" were born and soon met their end. But here we end by assuring that if our subscribers encourage us by subscribing to the paper regularly the "Mook Nayak", will not fail in showing our people the right path and their experience will show them that our assurance was not wrong.

But the writer who had given this assurance to the readers of "Mook Nayak" could not keep up his promise because of unavoidable circumstances in his life mission. After some experience of running the newspaper "Mook Nayak" its founder immediately realised that he must find out some profession which will keep him free for social service and at the same time earn his livelihood to keep him free from his economic problems. In pursuance of this view he had to go to England to complete his Barrister course (law course) which he had kept incomplete when he returned to India in his first phase of learning in America and in England. While returning to England he had handed over the charge of running "Mook Nayak" to an young man who had received training in running the newspaper . While handing that paper over to an young man it was hoped that when the present writer returns from England he will have an opportunity to see that the paper "Mook Nayak" has prospered. But his hope proved simply futile because he came to know just before he started returning from England that the paper "Mook Nayak" continues no more. It will be a futile exercise to ponder over the causes of the end of "Mook Nayak". Here, we only think that it will not be out of place if we explain the old issues carrying them further in our new newspaper under new name.

When the present writer had started the paper "Mook Nayak" some six years back the background was that the new reformed system of government was to be implemented in

India. In the circumstances of new ensuing political reform while explaining the need of the newspaper the present writer had stated that "If an observer looks to the physical and social scene in India he will undoubtedly find out that India is a home of glaring inequality.

"The inequality in Hinduism" is incomparable and hateful. The inter-relation between the Hindu communities is definitely not befitting to the character of Hinduism. The communities that are incorporated in Hindu society are inspired by the social idea of high and low in their social status. Hindu society is a multi-storeyed building. However what is worth remembering regarding this building is that every storey is a closed compartment without any passage of entrance to other storey in it. Since there is no passage for communication between the stories the man who is born in lower storey must die there only, however worthy he might be, he has no entry in the upper storey and the man in upper storey however unworthy he might be no one will dare to pull him down to the lower storey. In short it can be said that the social status of man in Hindu society is not based on his merit or demerit. The man born in high caste is bound to remain high in his social status however demeritorious he might be and the man born in low caste is bound to remain low however meritorious he might be. Another reason is that since inter-dining and inter-caste marriages are prohibited by custom and social usage each caste has remained separated from other caste and it has prevented the castes from promoting oneness and the sense of brotherhood among them. Not only this but even their day to day dealings are not without restrictions. Dealing between castes is only from outside the threshold of their house and some castes are untouchables whose touch pollutes the upper castes. Because of the idea of pollution the untouchables rarely come in contact with the so called high caste people in Hindu society. The prohibition of inter-dining and inter-caste marriage has marred the growth of fellow feeling among the castes and the practice of touchability –untouchability has added strength to the caste practice further so much so that the untouchable castes though are called Hindus have remained outside the mainstream of Hindu society and its framework. Under this system the Hindus can form themselves into three classes namely "the Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, and the Untouchables". If we look at the effects of this social inequality it can be seen that it has affected each caste differently. The Brahmins, the highest caste among the Hindus, regard themselves as Bhudevas- Gods on earth. The Brahmins think that the existing social inequality is very much beneficial to them as it is enjoined by the Shastras that all other castes are born to serve them. Hence by extracting services from all other castes they are enjoying the fruits by their self-created rights. If they have done any work it is the work of writing the Dharma Shastras(religious literature). But these Dharma Shastras are full of inconsistencies, a mixture of high thinking and meanest possible social practices. These scripture writers while teaching in their writing that all movable and immovable things are the different forms of the God support the glaring inequality in their thought and practice. It is not a sign of their being in their senses. Right or wrong, unfortunately, these Shastras have tremendous impact on the minds of the masses. There is no denying the fact that these innocent Hindu masses are worshipping their enemies as their gods. We need not go too far to find out as to why the innocent masses have fettered themselves with the harmful religious idea. This happened so because that the Brahmins constantly preached the people that the preservation of the religious knowledge and preaching that knowledge to the masses is the sole right of the Brahmins.

It is true that in the absence of power and for want of knowledge (education) the Non-Brahmins remained backward. But the ways and means of earning their living such as agriculture, trade and commerce and the involvement in the government services are open to them. But the social inequality that has imposed on untouchables the social disabilities are immense. In the combination of physical and mental weakness, poverty and ignorance the untouchable communities are drowned in deep sorrow. The deep rooted sense of slavery among them is retracing their steps backward. The knowledge(education) alone is the remedy over their mental weakness because of which they think that the condition in which they are placed for years together is their fate accomplish and there is no escape from this. The knowledge (education) is available on purchase but due to their grinding poverty the untouchables are unable to purchase it and if some one is able to purchase it, it is not easily available because due to the Caste Hindus' practice of untouchability it is not that easy for the untouchables to seek entry into the schools. The untouchables have remained poor by and large because all professions of earning are not open to them. They are very rarely found in trade, commerce, and in government services. Such is their miserable plight. We do not know whether our people are aware that so long as there are people in Hindu society who think that there is nothing wrong in degrading some people as untouchables the progress of existing untouchable communities in India is not possible. Similarly the so called untouchables have also realised that the upper caste Hindu leaders have tried to create wrong impression of the position of the untouchables to the British Government, which depends upon the high caste Hindus for governance. In this country of caste distinctions and caste hatred the untouchables want their separate electorates to elect their own representatives to legislatures and the caste Hindus have opposed their demands and hence the untouchables have complained to the government against the Caste Hindus. In short the untouchables have understood the tactics of the caste Hindus who by acquiring political power from the British, wish to perpetuate their caste supremacy over the untouchables. This is the good sign of awakening among the untouchables.

These views were expressed before the Reform Act of 1919 was implemented. But now the Act of Reform has come into force. The power that was in the hands of the British Government has now fallen into the hands of upper caste Indians in some proportion. Without bothering for the representation of the untouchable communities the British Government has handed the power over to the Caste Hindus as the owner of the Cattle does in handing his cattle over to the butcher. The condition of the untouchables that was before six years has now deteriorated from bad to worst. Hence the right minded men among the untouchable communities will definitely admit that to stop the injustice being done to the untouchables and bring out their problems and their existing condition before the world there is no better remedy than the newspaper entirely wedded to their cause. Not only this but it is likely that there is going to be another Reform Act in 1930 and by that whatever power the British Government has retained now (Act of 1919) that may also fall into the hands of Indians. If this happens and if the untouchables do not get adequate representation for them they will see that their fate is doomed once and for all. Because the mental outlook of the upper Caste Hindus towards untouchables and their problems is not impartial, broad and pure. It is the considered opinion of this writer that if the untouchables are to avoid this coming tragedy then they must launch their movements and start their agitations right from now. May God bless us for our success!

Our own News

Kolaba District Depressed Classes Conference Session first at Mahad

The meeting of the above mentioned conference took place at Mahad on 19th and 20th March, 1927. Almost about 3000 people from the untouchable community had gathered there. The conference was organised in a theatre. Many leaders of public importance had gathered there. Notable among them were Shri G.N.Sahastrabuddhe, Anant Vinayak Chitre, Shri Sitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar, Balaram Ambedkar, Pandurang Nathuram Rajbhoj, Shantaram Annaji Upasham, More, Ramachandra Shinde, Dhondiram Narayan Gayakwad, Shivaram Gopal Jadhav etc.. The work of the conference began after 5 p.m. on 19-3-1927. In the beginning the Chairman of the reception committee Shri Sambhaji Tukaram Gayakwad welcomed the guests and explained to them the purpose of holding this meeting. Then, after proposing and seconding the already designated name of Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar for Presidentship of the meeting, he took the chair. The following is the presidential speech that Dr. Ambedkar made.

Dr. Ambedkar's Presidential Speech

Gentlemen, I am really indebted to you for the honour you have done to me today. When a suggestion came to me that I should accept the Presidentship of this meeting I was thinking to avoid it; but when I came to know that it was impossible to shirk this responsibility I gladly accepted the offer. And now I am standing before you.

Gentlemen, in one way I am feeling very happy in coming here. Everybody feels happy when he comes to his original place. My father after retiring from his military service with a view to settle permanently came and stayed at Dapoli[§]. My first lessons in primary school I learnt here in Dapoli school.

But because of the circumstances when I was six years' old we left the foot hills and spent all my life till today on the hill ranges. Today after 25 years of absence from here again I have come down to the foot of hills (Ghat). When anybody enters into this kind of natural beauty he naturally feels happy. When a man comes to his motherland after a gap of much time he feels happy rather doubly happy after seeing this natural beauty. But I must also say on this occasion that as I feel happy over the situation I must also feel unhappy at the same time. Because once there was such a situation in this area that our people had gone much ahead in their progress. Once this area was crowded by the army officers coming from our communities. Not only this but in matter of education also the untouchables were more advanced than others with sole exception of Brahmins.

The main cause of their advancement is their entry into military service which was very popular with them. How much scope they had to make their advancement before the beginning of British reign in India is difficult to reveal at least today. But in those days the practice of untouchability among the caste Hindus against the backward classes was so severe that if an untouchable while going by the road came across a high caste Hindu the former had to leave the road and stand at a distance in order to avoid his shadow likely to be fallen on the high caste person. If untouchables spit on the road the road would be polluted hence it was a rule that they should hang an earthen pot in their neck to spit in while walking on the road and as a mark of their identity they had to tie a black coloured thread to their hand.

[§] Dapoli is a village near Mahad.

Under the circumstances there must have been a very little scope for the untouchables to raise their head. It is only when the English people put their foot on this land the untouchables got some scope to raise their heads up. As soon as they got the chance they proved how brave they were, what power they had and how intelligent they were.

If anybody wants the testimony for this he should see the military list in the military files available in Bombay archives. If I give the list of how many untouchables from this province became Subhedars, Jamadars, Havaldars, Head masters, who studied in Normal schools and became Head Masters, Educators, clerks, and Quarter Masters, this speech may go beyond the time limit and hence I avoid that. These people as officers shouldered their official responsibilities very ably and earned the name. The people who were once only the servants of others doing only the filthy works, rose to the position of power in British Military and administered their authority over others. It will not be wrong if it is said that because of the military services there had occurred a great revolutionary change in the structure of the Hindu Society. In the villages the Marathas and such other castes did not touch the Mahars and Chambhars and if these untouchables did not salute them by saying Johar or Ram Ram they used to feel that they were insulted, and now in the changed circumstances the same Maratha Sipahis (soldiers) had to salute the Mahar and Chambhar Subhedar bending their heads down. At no time in the past the untouchables had acquired such a power in this country and this is a statement of facts. The untouchables in Bombay presidency had thus raised their social position considerably. Not only this but they had made tremendous progress in matters of education. Among them almost 90 per cent of them were literates and 50 per cent of them were well educated. It is important to note that this spread of education had percolated not only among the men but also among the women. Among the women some of them were so well read that they used to give better interpretation of the Puranas in the meetings of the male members. The military profession was to a great extent responsible for this educational progress.

Those who feel that even after ruling this country for over 150 years the British Government did not take the steps to make the primary education compulsory must not forget one fact. The knowledgeable persons in India wrongly blame the East India Company Government saying that they took care only of its profits and not of the education of the people. This blame is not really true. At least in case of military department this blame is not true. Those who served in the army of East India Company generations together will definitely stand for testimony that in military the primary education was free and compulsory. The rule of compulsory primary education was applicable to both men and women equally, and it was strictly followed. The parents by paying the fine could not escape. This compulsion was not restricted to children but it was extended to the new recruits without any exception. They were compelled to attend the Night School. When the rule of the company ended after the Mutiny of 1857 the Government of the Crown appointed a committee to enquire into the military affairs. In the enquiry some people gave in their evidence that if there continues the spread of education as before there will be a still further disaster in the military. The Government of the crown slowly neglected the education in the military and then stopped it completely. Be it as it may, one thing is clear that so long as education was compulsory in military the untouchables were immensely benefitted by it. They used the education they had received in military in such a way that one can definitely feel proud of that. Their personal collection of books increased enormously due to the spread of education among them. The handwritten copies of Shridharswami's books can be available even on hire. I have seen the handwritten copies of the Maharashtrian saints like Mukundraj, Dnyaneshwar, Mukteshwar etc. in the collection of many untouchables. Not only this but I am sure that many rare books can be found in the collection of books of many untouchables. Dnyaneshwar Maharaj had written a book called "Panchikaran" and I have seen this rare book in the collection of my friend who is now unfortunately no more. Some years back one Shri Pagarkar had given an advertisement in the "Kesari" that if anybody had a book called "Dnyansudha" written by the poet Raghavachittan he should contact him. If Shri Pagarkar did not secure the above mentioned book from anybody he can get that book from my untouchable friend who has preserved that book in his collection. It is a matter of one's own guess that when the untouchables had no education, in that circumstances how many difficulties they must have faced while making the kind of rare book collection which I have mentioned above. This kind of thirst for knowledge on the part of untouchables is definitely praiseworthy, and there can be no two opinions on this when we see their aptitude to acquire knowledge. We definitely think that they made use of their knowledge thus acquired very appropriately. If we classify the people working in public life we find that they form two classes of their own. One class is of those who come to work in public field only for namesake and second class is of those who come to public life to do some genuine public work. The majority is of those who work for namesake. Among the present day workers the number of those who work for namesake is not small. The people in Poona say that they are the originators of the awakening among the untouchables. In Bombay also there are some who say that they are the owners of this claim. Some members of the "Depressed Classes Mission" society in Bombay assert that the awakening among the untouchables started from them. Here all these claims would only mean that the claimants do not really know the genuine history of the awakening that dawned on the untouchables. Among the organizations that had sprung up in Bombay Presidency in the last decades of the 19th century, organisation called "Reforming the Anaryas", was the first. When in the year 1893 the British Government stopped the recruitment of the untouchables in the military it was this organisation which had prepared a petition with the help of

Justice M.G.Ranade and submitted the same to the Government for continuing the recruitment. This shows that this Association was in contact with many worthy social workers. In the year 1897 this Association had prepared a questionnaire for Indian National Congress in which it was argued what right they (Congressmen) had to demand the political rights without the social reform! This shows how powerful this organisation was. Sir Herbert Rislay had sent a questionnaire to this association in 1898 when he was preparing the complete report on Indian Society. This only means that this Association had its recognition even in the Government . I can tell all this with proof because the files and papers of this Association are in my possession. This association was started at Dapoli in Ratnagiri District and, therefore if 'the credit of starting the movement' first for the cause of untouchables is to be given to anybody it is undoubtedly this organisation that deserve it. The organisers of this Association not only tried to solve some important problems of the untouchables but they also produced literature to awaken the untouchable masses. Some members of this Association were the staunch supporters and followers of Mahatma Jotiba Phule, the founder of Satyashodhak Samaj. I cannot resist my temptation of mentioning one name and that was of "Gopalbuwa Valangkar". The kind of awakening he promoted among our people through his writings is incomparable. Those who wish to know about this should consult the old files of the paper "Dinbandhu" of Satyashodhak Samaj.

It is a tragedy that the people of this District (Dapoli-Ratnagiri) who were only a few years ago so much advanced have now fallen so low that they are lower than untouchables of other area in poverty, education, and mental state. What factors have brought about this change in them is a mystery. One answer to this change given by many people is that their condition became miserable only because of the government's ban on their entry into military services. Undoubtedly there is an amount of truth in this answer. From political, moral and economic point of view it is unjust to prevent any human group from entering into Government Services. Preventing untouchables from entering the military services is not only an act of partiality but also it is a treachery and betrayal of friendship. Without the help of untouchable soldiers in the East India Company's army the English people would have never succeeded in the country against the Maratha power. The researchers in Maratha History give many reasons for the defeat of the Marathas finally. Some argue that the strict caste practices imposed by the Maratha rule on the people are the cause of the end of Maratha rule. Some others argue that the internal feud among the Marathas was the cause of their final defeat. But in my opinion none of these causes is true historically. If the Marathas were weak because of their caste practices and internal feud, were the English stronger than the Marathas? In reality when the English people conquered this nation that time Napoleon, the ruler of France, had harassed English nation beyond any measure. This harassment of England was so much so that the England found it very difficult to help the East India Company in India either financially or militarily. As against this the England itself demanded financial and military help from East India Company in India. Therefore, the argument that English people conquered this nation because of the internal dispute among the Marathas is an untenable argument. My answer on this issue is that if the English people had not succeeded in raising the army from the indigenous people they would not have succeeded in conquering this country. When this is so then I would like to ask the British government as to who were the recruits in the army of the East India Company? If they read their old military file they will find that there were none except the untouchables in their army. Therefore it is quite clear that they would not have succeeded in conquering this country without the army of untouchables. What kind of justice it is that the people who conquered this country for the British were driven out of the military service? The English people are opportunistic is once again shown in a recent incidence. During the First World War the English people again felt the need of untouchable soldiers in 1917. Their demand was of one battalion but the people who attended the recruitment call were sufficient enough for more than two battalions. The government raised one battalion. The people were happy that at last the government removed the ban on the recruitment in military but the tragic part was that as soon as the war was over they banned the recruitment of the untouchables in the army under the pretext of financial stringency. What to say about this irresponsible behaviour of the government? Gentlemen, my opinion is that we are always in favour of the government; therefore, government always take us for granted without caring for our interests. We always obey them, listen to them and this slavery is responsible for our neglect by the government.

If anybody slaps on our right cheek we offer him our left cheek for his slapping. But we never raise our hands up to resist the slapping. Even if the sky falls on our head we helplessly keep quiet enduring it. We should give up this attitude as early as possible. I, therefore tell it that we should make efforts to lift up the ban on our army entry.

But our work will not end there even if the government opens avenues for our entry into the military. Many of our people believe that once the Government opens the military recruitment for us we need not do anything more. I feel that this is the wrong understanding of the situation. One thing is that it is not possible now in a changed circumstances to seek entry of our people in army on large scales as it was the case in the beginning of the East India Company's rule. At that time the upper caste people among the Hindus were not prepared to enter the army of the East India Company because they regarded English people as mlenchas(the beef eaters). Hence the untouchables had enough scope for their entry in military. This is not the situation now. We have to get now whatever is possible with others who have also entered the competition. Expecting more is hopeless. Therefore, instead of depending only on military services we should find out other sources or avenues for our all round progress.

The professions assigned to the untouchables by the Hindu tradition are very few. Only the leather workers(Chambhars) are the professional people. But many of them now-a-days have also almost discontinued their profession. Therefore, the untouchables have become almost the non-professional people. Hence, it is difficult to tell them that this is your profession and you should do it to earn the livelihood. Under the circumstances they should enter such professions which are open only to touchables. To me there are only two such professions one is government service and another is agriculture.

I know that my suggestion to the untouchables that they should turn towards the government services like the upper caste Hindu is detestable to the upper caste Hindus. They think that the untouchables should do the work only of weaving the clothes, working in foundries or carpentry. But they should not enter in other lucrative services. This view is not conducive to us. In my opinion two things are necessary for the progress of the untouchables. One thing is that old traditions and practices which are deep rooted in them and have mentally enslaved them must be given up at once. So long as there is no change in their traditional way of thinking and behaviour their progress is not possible. In their existing condition nothing can be produced from their uncultivated mind. To make their minds cultivated and cultured they should copy the ways and means of the higher classes. There is the reason why I say that you should copy the living of upper class people. The government is the most important institution governing the life of the people. The changes in society will take place as government thinks. But we should remember that what changes will take place will depend upon the changes that government officials will introduce. Because the mind of the government would mean the mind of the government servants. Therefore, if we wish to get done anything good to our community it is highly imperative that we must enter into the government services. Otherwise the precarious condition to which we are subjected to today will remain the same. If this is to be avoided we should make efforts to get a system introduced by which we will be empowered by our entry into the government services. Without this we will never come on the path of the progress. And in order to seek our entry into government services we must copy the mode and method of the higher classes which have entered the government services in a big way. This trick has been well understood by both the Muslims and the Non-Brahmins and they are making efforts in this regard. We must wake up in time and attain our goal in this field. The Brahmins hate our struggle and propagate among our people that there is nothing in government services.

But our people must remember that their propaganda is not based on their honesty. There is no truth in their propaganda because had they not been in government services in a large number in Bombay Presidency they would have remained as cooks and servants like the Brahmins of other provinces. Had their power depended only upon the Shastras without their influence in the Government of Bombay Presidency they would have collapsed here also leading the life of pauper as the Brahmins in other provinces are living. Here they are strong because they are fully backed by their men in government service. We should copy them and be tenacious enough in securing the government services as they do.

Friends I must give you an account of our glorious past produced by our men who had entered the military services coming from this area and left an indelible imprint during the beginning period of modern Indian History. This part of Bombay Presidency produced in enormous number the Subhedars and Jamadars in military services and they did sufficiently good things for their people. But they neglected one thing and that was the educating their children. Had they done this they would have produced a revolutionary change in our society today. Friends, these soldiers were not the poor people. They were getting the sufficiently good amount of pension. Had they been the lovers of education they would have compulsorily given education to their children but they did not do this. Otherwise they were quite capable to educate their children up to B.A. and M.A. Had they done this its impact today would have been that their children would have occupied the position of Mamledars and Collectors and what change would have occurred in our society is a matter that one can safely imagine. Our community would have grown under the shadow of their power but this did not happen and we are leading a life in a scorching heat without any support from any quarter.

I have come to a firm conclusion that unless we create our own shadow of power to live under it; it is not possible for us to lead a life of comfort. This shadow cannot be produced unless like the upper class people we also enter the government services. Therefore, we must pay our attention towards acquiring higher education. A graduate can serve the society more usefully than one thousand students who have received vernacular education up to the fourth standard can do. It should not mean that we should neglect primary education. What I say is that our present position is so precarious that to tide over this situation, it is essential that sooner we reach our boys to the higher education the better. Therefore, it is necessary that we should have school Boarding House in this area. I have decided to start a Boarding House at Panavel so that it will be useful for the students of both the Thane District and Kulaba District. I hope that you all will give your helping hand in starting this Boarding House.

Another occupation that I have suggested to you is agriculture. My intention in suggesting agriculture as your profession is that this will enable you to lead your life independently. Today among the untouchable communities the Mahar community is such a community which I can say, without hesitation is a caste of paupers and beggars. This caste has no earning profession of its own. The Mahars subsist only on whatever the high castes in the villages give them once in a year at harvest time for their traditional services to which they are bound traditionally as bondage labour from which there is no escape. The Mahars have no prestige in the villages as they beg for their food, sweep the village roads, announce the news of village Panchayat meetings to the people by beating drums and shouting it to the villagers going around the various lanes of the villages etc. Since they do this low type of service in the villages they have no prestige in the villages. This has marred their sense of self-respect beyond any measure. Their position is that treat us in any manner of your choice but give us provisions for subsistence. This has weakened them to the extent that they are unable to find out a new way for their escape from the existing position. Because today if they say that they will enter the Hindu temples, draw the water from the public wells and refuse to lift the dead animals of the high caste Hindus the high caste Hindus will stop giving pieces of bread and tighten their nerves. Thus staking our position of self-respect only for the sake of stale pieces of Jowar bread is a matter of great shame on us. Giving up begging for stale pieces of bread will end if our people shift to agriculture which is an independent profession. I know that it is difficult for our people to purchase the land, but if some one demands land from the government from its forest land he may get it.

But when and how this change will occur? I think that as long as we are satisfied in living on the stale food begged from the caste Hindus for the services we render to them the existing condition will continue. Nobody wants to tread a new path so long as old system continues. By adhering to the old practice we have lost our humanity of self-respect. How long are we going to continue this state of affairs is a matter that you must think. Friends, everywhere generally there is a belief among the people that whatever the ancestors did and practised is good and that must be adhered to. In short old is gold is generally an accepted idea. But this ideal is not good when it leads to stagnation. Moreover every parent expects that the condition of their children must be better than them. The parents who do not feel like this there is no difference between them and the animals. Gentlemen, if not for us at least for future generations you must pay the attention to what I say. Gentlemen, if you think that why should we run to future gain leaving whatever we get today, the situation will be that it is quite possible that you will get nothing in future.

I have expressed these views not only before you but I have done so wherever I went and spoke. Here I must tell you one thing emphatically and that is that all of you must take keen interest in the work of awakening our people against their slavery. After disappearing the generations of military soldiers of this area their present generation has become lethargic in social matters. Now there is no movement of any kind here. You should not allow the fire of social consciousness and social awakening to extinguish. Our pensioners who are here will guide you in this matter. I end my speech with the hope that our pensioners of this part will take active part in the work of leading our workers in awakening the masses.

After this some high caste Hindu leaders who were present there also expressed their views. Their main proposition was that the untouchables while making efforts for their upliftment should not antagonise the high caste Hindus. After this a local member Shri Bhanudas Kamble a member of the Chambhar community explained how the untouchables are cornered from all the sides by the caste Hindus in their efforts for progress and stated that the untouchables should follow the path of Satyashodhak Samaj for their progress. In the end Shri Sahastrabuddhe of Bombay spoke and said in his speech that if the high caste Hindus feel that the untouchables should love them then they should also learn to love the untouchables. Because the love increases only by love. There is a way to make the untouchables feel that the touchables love them in real sense of the term. That way is that the high caste Hindus should make efforts to remove the difficulties standing in the way of the progress of untouchable. After this speech it was announced that the conference has come to end. On second day the conference began at 9 am and some resolutions were passed which have been given elsewhere.

Then the President of the conference made his concluding speech; one Shri Shivaram Gopal Jadhav proposed the vote of thanks; but after that Shri Anant Vinayak Chitre made an epoch making suggestion. He said : "Today we have met in an historical conference of a rare significance" and he thought that the conference should not end without doing any work of significance. In this city of Mahad, he said, there is a scarcity of water for the untouchables. To end this scarcity the Mahad Municipality has already declared that the water tanks in Mahad are open to all the people irrespective of their caste, creed and religion. But the practice of untouchables drawing water from the tanks has not yet started. If this conference helps in starting that practice it will be a work of importance. Hence we will all including the President (Dr. Ambedkar) of this conference will go to the Chaudar Tank and drink the water. Then all the people under the leadership of the President began going towards the tank in procession. The procession went through the city of Mahad very peacefully towards the tank. After drinking water from the tank they returned to the place of conference and then dispersed.

Caste Hindus' Outrage Against Untouchables at Mahad

After the end of the conference the President Dr.Ambedkar and guests who had come from Bombay went to the Government Rest house where they were staying. Others who had come from different places went to the dining place to take their food before leaving for their places. At about 2 pm the Gurav(priest) of Vishveshwar temple started running here and there in the city shouting that the untouchables have decided to enter the temple and hence the caste Hindus should come out to protect the temple from pollution. The caste Hindus who were already damn annoyed with the untouchables thinking that the untouchables have already polluted the Chaudar Tank by drinking water from it were just waiting for an occasion to take revenge on untouchables. After hearing the shouting of the priest (Gurav) the caste Hindus numbering four to five hundred immediately gathered together in the temple armed with lathis (Sticks). After hearing this, the city police Inspector saw Dr.Ambedkar in the Government rest house and asked about the fact. Dr.Ambedkar told him that the untouchables had no intentions to enter the temple nor it is necessary for them. Hence he told the Inspector that he should go to the temple and reveal to the caste Hindus who had gathered in the temple the fact and pacify them. After this Dr. Ambedkar sent some men to the place where people were taking their food to warn them against taking any step like attempting to enter the temple. Many people after taking their food had already left the place for going to their respective villages. When they were passing through the city lanes they were attacked by the caste Hindus inflicting injuries on them. Unfortunately the Mamledar of Mahad did not take any step to stop the violent attack on the untouchables. At last after two hours at about 4.15 p.m. Mamledar came to Dr.Ambedkar with police Inspector asking him that he should accompany them to pacify the people saying that Dr.Ambedkar should pacify his people and the Mamledar will pacify his people(caste Hindus)as a matter of fact there was no need of pacifying the untouchables as they were already peaceful, suffering only the violent attacks of the caste Hindus. Moreover many untouchables who had come for the conference had already left the place. Even then Dr.Ambedkar and others as suggested by the Mamledar, started going to the city; on way, near the temple, the caste Hindus stopped them and asked Dr.Ambedkar to explain about the temple entry. Dr.Ambedkar told them that he and his men have no intension to enter the temple. Then they started arguing with Dr. Ambedkar that the resolution of the Mahad Municipality is not the resolution of the people here; therefore, why should he and his people not inform high caste Hindus before they drank water from the Chaudar Tank. Sensing the caste Hindus' intention to instigate the people of high caste Hindus further Dr.Ambedkar and his men started going ahead. After this some caste Hindus immediately started shouting running here and there that the untouchables have entered the temple. This was happening in front of the Mamledar but he took no step to arrest anybody nor made any effort to stop this. Mamledar had taken Dr.Ambedkar and others with him to the city to pacify the untouchables but there was not a single untouchable there, there was only the angry mob of caste Hindus and hence Dr.Ambedkar and others who had accompanied him returned to the government bungalow where they were staying. Here at the guest house what they saw was, there had gathered almost one hundred untouchables among whom some were wounded and blood stained. Till this time nobody knew that the conference ended with bloodshed. Here one thing which was very much surprising for everybody was why did the Magistrate who was present in the city did not take steps to stop atrocities of the caste Hindus on untouchables? The injured people were rushed to the Hospital and from there they went to the police station to lodge the complaint.

Collecting evidences was difficult as caste Hindus unitedly kept their tongues tight, even untouchables found it difficult to open their mouths. The police at Mahad were found unwilling to take the side of law. Seeing this, the information of what happened here was sent telegraphically to the District Collector as well as to the governor of the Bombay Presidency. It was requested therein that the Mahad police should be warned to behave according to the law. The news of the Mahad episode were also spread by the caste Hindus to other villages around Mahad. The Marathas of other villages were told by the caste Hindus of Mahad that the untouchables of their villages who attended the 'Mahad conference' should be punished. The Mahars, they were told, have polluted the Mahad Tank; now they should protect their village tanks and wells. This kind of message was sent to the caste Hindus of other villages as a result of which the untouchables who were in minority in every village were assaulted and beaten. In some villages the untouchables were severely beaten.

To protect the untouchables from further atrocities of the caste Hindus the list of the names and their villages was sent to the superintendant of police of Kulaba district. And the people who had come for the conference returned to Bombay as men in service had no leave to their credit. Dr.Ambedkar and Shri Chitre remained behind at Mahad. Both these met the superintendant of police and informed him about the atrocious event and also suggested the ways to protect the untouchables from the hooliganism of the caste Hindus. On Tuesday they summoned a meeting of Non-Brahmins since they took big part in committing atrocities on untouchables of that area. Efforts were made to convince them of the right cause of the untouchables but it was of no use. Except one or two others did not accept the pleading of Dr.Ambedkar. Both Dr.Ambedkar and Chitre returned to Bombay next day. The future will tell about the result of the Mahad conference. However one thing is certain that the conference was very effective.

The efforts made by the people of the Chandraseniya

Caste(CKP) of Mahad to make the Mahad conference successful and the humanity shown to the injured untouchables when caste Hindus attacked them, in giving them medical aid will be gratefully remembered forever.

Untouchables conference of the Kulaba District
Session one Place- Mahad
Resolutions of the conference

Section 1st

Resolution 1st: In the movement launched by the untouchables for their self-elevation if the caste Hindus think that there should not be any bitterness between untouchables and caste Hindus then we make the following suggestions for them.

(A) When the untouchables try to make use of public places and public wells and tanks the caste Hindus declare against them their full scale Non-cooperation against the untouchables and make their lives miserable. Instead of doing this they should assist them in the exercise of their civil rights.

(B) The high caste Hindus should employ the untouchables as their home servants.

(C) As a remedy to break the caste system they should start encouraging the inter-caste marriages.

(D) High caste Hindus should help school going boys of the poor untouchable families by making mess arrangement by coming together collectively.

(E) Instead of depending upon the untouchables for the disposal of their dead animals they should make their own arrangement for the disposal.

Section two

Resolution 1st : In the last legislative council of Bombay presidency Shri S.K.Bole has introduced a resolution regarding the opening of public tanks and public wells for the use of the untouchable classes. The government should implement the resolution and put the boards near the tanks and the wells accordingly. And if need be by taking the evidences of local leaders the government should use criminal procedure code to enable the untouchables to exercise their right of taking water from public wells and public tanks.

Resolution 2nd : This conference urges the government that it should make arrangement for supplying water to the untouchables of such villages where the untouchables suffer from the shortage of water.

Resolution 3rd : For the economic progress of the untouchables the government should allot some forest lands to them for cultivation.

Resolution 4th : To improve their economic condition and end their miserable living the government should take the following steps:

(A) Wherever it is possible the government should give government services to the unqualified men from amongst the untouchables.

(B) The government should recruit untouchables in the army.

(C) Untouchables should be appointed in the Navy.

(D) A second year trained school teacher should be made qualified for supervisor's post.

(E) The literates among the untouchables should be appointed in the civil police.

(F) The untouchables should be appointed in a larger number in Police department.

Resolution 5th : untouchables get Baluta(some foodgrain from the village Rayat for doing some assigned government and village services.)The government of central provinces has stopped this recently and has imposed some cess on the Rayats. The same cess system should be introduced here also(Bombay Province) and the amount thus collected should be used in paying monthly salary of the untouchable workers who work for the village.

Resolution 6th : The government should frame a law by which eating of flesh of the dead animals by the untouchables should be stopped because this endangers their health and lowers their social status.

Resolution 7th : The government should make education and prohibition compulsory.

Resolution 8th : We feel unhappy that Shri S.K.Jadhav was not appointed as deputy collector (Shri Jadhav was in government service and was well educated and was a man who came from the depressed class.)

Resolution 9th : In the fund of regiment No. III there is some money contributed by soldiers of Mahad Taluka who were in the military service. Using that money the government should establish a Boarding House for school going boys of Mahad Taluka at Mahad.

Resolution 10th : In matters of education the untouchable communities have fallen in a miserable state. To improve their educational condition the following things be implemented.

(A) A committee should be appointed to suggest the ways and means to improve their educational condition.

(B) Distritct-wise Boarding Houses should be started.

(C) The individuals who have started Boarding Houses for untouchable boys should be given government grant of Rs.10 per boy per month.

(D) Government should open a school at the place where 30 boys are available for school going.

(E) Scholarship should be given.

Section 3rd

Resolution 1st : This conference requests the Panchas (committee of elders in the villages) that at the time of marriage of the sons and the daughters they should observe the following conditions :

(A) The custom of marrying the sons below 20 years of their age and the daughters below 15 years of their age must be stopped.

(B) The village where there is a school the Panchas (elders)concerned should warn the people that they should compulsorily send their children to the school. If somebody violates this compulsion, they should warn him that, he will be held guilty.

(C) They should not allow remarriage to take place without making proper enquiry of both the bride and the bride-groom.

(D) In remarriage Panchas should not charge anything by way of fee except taking their meals there.

Resolution two :

(A) The Mahars should give up their Maharki under which they perform all kinds of filthy work in the village and turn toward the profession of peasants.

(B) To finance agriculture they should try to start co-operative banks.

(C) To confront the famines, rains and to escape from the clutches of money lenders they should establish co-operative societies. This conference earnestly requests the untouchables to do this.

Section 4th

Resolution 1st : This conference is sorrowful over the murder of swami Shraddhanandji. The Hindus should by following his programme end the practice of untouchability completely.

Exchange of Thoughts

Unity (organisation) of the untouchables

(Writer: Ambidexter)

Since two Muslims have launched the movement, called Tanjim Tabaligh to convert Hindus to Islam the Hindus have also launched their Purification (Shuddhi) movement to bring back to Hinduism the Hindu converts to Islam.

Shuddhi movement received impetus further after the murder of Shraddhanandji, who was a leader in this movement, by a Muslim. India is going to get second installment of Swarajya (Self-rule) and in that the strength of representatives is going to depend upon the strength of population community-wise and the movements to increase the population strength have been launched by various organisations; but because of these movements the untouchables have been caught in a tug of war. In India the population strength of the Muslims and the untouchables is almost the same. In order to convert the whole of untouchables or at least half of them to Islam Mohamad Ali and Hazarat Nizami and other Muslims are making efforts day and night. After realising this some wise and farsighted Hindus by establishing the branches of Hindu Sabha at various places have moved for strengthening the Hindu organisation(Unity) and spreading Shuddhi(reconversion) movement seriously. Their real interest is that no untouchable should convert himself to other religion. For this reason the leaders of the caste Hindus are coming nearer to the untouchables and are trying to weaken some of the disabilities imposed on them. By this perhaps the shackles of untouchables may become loosened or untouchability may come to an end even but what advantage the untouchables will get from this! On the contrary these people will not allow us to take the advantages which we are availing now due to the practice of untouchability by them. Under the pretext that all Hindus are one, they will send only their men to the Legislative council on the strength of their majority. The high caste Hindus never paid any attention to the helpless condition of the untouchables nor did they make any effort to improve their educational, economic and social condition. Under the circumstances it is wrong to believe that they will keep their efforts on towards the further improvement of the condition of untouchables when the practice of untouchability becomes weak. This is clear from the treatment that the caste like Katkari, Kulwadi, Thakur etc. receive from the high castes even though these castes do not belong to the untouchable communities.

This being our condition it is not understandable why the leaders of different communities of untouchables quarrel among themselves and create rift between the communities. This is really an unfortunate situation. These leaders, it seems, fail to understand that others will take advantage of their quarreling. There are sects among the Muslims also and they too quarrel among themselves but when the question of the Muslim's interest comes they all become one and fight against their enemies. The Muslims have more than 25 representatives in legislative councils whereas the representatives of the untouchables were only one and only recently the number has been increased to two in Bombay legislative assembly because of the voice raised by the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha even though the population of the untouchables is equal to the population of the Muslims. This increase from one to two became possible only because of the movement launched by the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha. Similarly if all the untouchable communities coming together demand for more seats in the legislative council from the coming Royal Commission they will perhaps get more seats. However the unfortunate development is that some Chambhars of Bombay and a Mang of Pune because of their selfish interests are falling prey to the high caste people's diplomacy and are creating division between Mahars and others thus hitting upon the main stream of the movement. But we should like to ask them honestly as to what movement till today the Chambhars and Mangs have launched for the upliftment of the untouchables? On the contrary the advantage of the movement that the Mahars have launched by spending enormous money has been taken by both the Chambhars and Mangs and this is indicated in their entry into Municipal and local boards as members on the seats allotted to the untouchables as their representatives. Not only this but even the high salaried employees of Chambhars and Mangs will not deny that their children are getting the government scholarships and the hostel facilities which are the results of the movement launched by the untouchables in which the Mahars have the lion's share. We, therefore appeal very sincerely to the leaders of all the untouchable communities that this is not the time for producing divisions amongst us. It is the time to unite and produce strength. It is essential that the leaders of different untouchable communities should tell their people about the importance of social movement for their upliftment with no divisions amongst them. The public places, Dharmashalas, and the public wells built by the government must remain open to us and we must exercise our right to use them, because like all others we also pay the tax to the government. Our leaders must educate our people regarding their rights over the public places. In order to do this they must remain united and produce an organisation of strength , without this it will not be possible for us to demand the population-wise representation in the legislative councils from the Royal Commission which is going to visit India within one or two years' time. If this is to be realised it is possible only when our leaders resolve to be united and produce strength of unity based on love and brotherhood.

The News in Report

In the city of Nagpur there is an orthodox section of people who are important enough to be taken note of. However the people of Bardi and Dhantoli area in Nagpur are well educated in their idea of social reform movement. In Bhide Girl School some untouchable girls are receiving education. The women coming together at a place called the house of remarriage eat together and apply Kumkum and turmeric. Many high caste people have employed untouchable workers as peons, Garden workers and cartmen. Will the people of Bombay emulate their example?

On behalf of the Hindus two Christians one Shri David Jones and another Shri Ratnakar Krishna Sangle were reconverted to Hinduism at Ahmednagar in Datt temple on 17th of this month. Shri David was renamed as Shivalingappa whereas name Ratnakar was retained. Many Shastris and Pandits attended this ceremony of reconversion. What is more important is that the temple management had allowed even the untouchables to enter the Datt temple and have Darshan of the god Datt. Not only this but in allowing the reconversion ceremony to take place in their Datt Mandir the management of the temple have set an example before others. If others also follow this example the untouchables without turning either to Christianity or to Islam will help only the solidification of Hinduism. The Hindu Sabha of Bombay is constructing the separate temple for the untouchables!

A member of the Hindu Sanghathan (Hindu Unity) writes that the progress of the untouchables of Nagpur is taking place rapidly. We saw the Chokamela students hostel there and discussed some social problems with students and Shri Barve. Boys maintain cleanliness in their living. The boys asked the questions very boldly. There was some anti-Brahmin tone in their questions. We heard that some untouchables bore surnames like Puranic, Khandekar and Gavai. In Nagpur, particularly Sitabardi and Dhantoli areas of Nagpur city the vegetables and fruit selling is done by the untouchable women. Nagpur is famous for orange production, it is important to note that the people who work as brokers in transporting the oranges to different parts of the country there are many Mahars among them. The women of Mahar caste sell the vegetables and the people of all the castes without any doubt purchase vegetables from them; this change is a matter of great satisfaction to us. The men and women of untouchable communities must take up such professions and the people of upper caste must encourage them in this herculean task. The satisfaction which we derived after seeing the progress of untouchables of Bardi(part of Nagpur) areas was eroded after seeing the condition of the Chambhars of Chhattisgarh area where the orphanage for their children functions. The Chhatisgarhi Chambhars are fair-coloured good looking people but their wives, daughters, and daughters-in-laws are employed by the Musalmans in low professions like beedi and Pan shops and some times they become their mistresses and the owners of the shop. The Hindu Sabha of Nagpur has started paying its attention towards them recently. But there is a need of Chambhars themselves paying attention towards this problem.

This paper was printed by Shri Moreshwar Chintaman Lele in Vikram Printing Press and published by its Editor Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar at Rahim Building Poyabavadi Parel.

Reg. No. B 2250
Advertisement Rates:
Five annas per line
first time
Four annas per line
second time
Three annas per line third time
Two annas per line forever

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
PostageRs.3
Single issue for
1½ annas.

Printer
Anant Atmaram Moramkar
Shri Laxminarayan Press,
364 Thakurdas, Mumbai No.2

Editor & Publisher
Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar- at-Law, Rahim Building,
Poybawadi, Parel, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st] Friday, dated 22 April, 1927. [Issue No. 2

Day-to-day Problems

1. In the month of May last an advertisement was published in the government Gazetteer that the government wishes to appoint three Collectors in the revenue department. The desirous should apply for the posts. Only qualification laid down for the aspiring candidates was that he should be B.A. degree holder of the Bombay University. The people were enthusiastic to know as to whom these positions will be given by the government. The untouchable communities do not bother much when such big positions are distributed by the Government, thinking that it is quite unlikely that they should have such a qualified man among them. But here the case was quite different in this connection. Their expectation here was that they will get at least one post for them. Because three candidates who had applied for posts Mr.M.K.Jadhav was one among them. This young man belonged to the untouchable community and he had passed B.A. examinations with honours course from the Bombay University. Mr. Jadhav could have got one out of three but this did not happen. Of the three posts two positions have been given to the candidates of Maratha caste and one has gone

to the candidate belonging to the Muslim community and this has now been published in the government Gazetteer.

2. After reading this the untouchables must have felt disappointed with surprise. How the lower level revenue and police officers harass the untouchables of the villages is not likely to be known to the high level officers or to the high caste Hindus. But we have from time to time brought the information of the harassment made to the untouchables' to the notice of the high level government officers and we have also informed them that how it is necessary to allow the entry of the untouchable deserving candidates in higher services of the government to end their harassment. We do not deny that the government officers must be efficient. But we feel that it is not enough that they should merely be efficient and fit. They should also be impartial. Otherwise if an officer is efficient and fit but not impartial then he instead of doing good to the people will harm them. Because of the caste system every officer is partial to his caste and if many officers are of the one caste undoubtedly by accruing advantages to their own caste they will harm the interest of other castes. This social fact is so clear that we feel that there is no need to produce any evidence to prove this fact. But some selfish people very conveniently forget that reality in matters of appointing people in government services.

3. It is our considered opinion that for the good of our nation it is necessary that the power should not fall into the hands of one caste, whether it is of Brahmin caste or of Maratha caste or of Mohamedan. If the government is to remain impartial there is only one remedy for this and that is there should be a mixture of all the classes in the government services. If this happens each officer will be scared of other officer while taking the decision which is not impartial, from this point of view it was essential that Shri M.K.Jadhav should have entered the government service. But this did not happen and anybody will accept that this was a big loss from the point of view of the untouchables. One feels that it was a greater injustice. If somebody tells the government that there is no spread of education among the untouchables then, the

government, hiding its duty, tells the untouchables that like the upper castes the untouchable communities should also make efforts to acquire higher education for their children. When it is argued that the backward classes should be given special concession the government argues that the education is open for all. Therefore, there is no bar for anybody educating himself. When government argues this it forgets that those upper caste men who receive education do not do that for the sake of knowledge; had it been so their women instead of wearing golden necklace would have had books in their houses. They receive education to make it as their business. Had they not received professions and positions in government services they would not have gone to receive higher education.

4. If education is to spread among the untouchables then there is a need of throwing government services open to them. If the services remain closed to them as before then a feeling might grow in them that education will not bring any benefit to them. The way in which Shri. Jadhav's episode ended was, no doubt, a personal loss to him. But our fear is that this will have an adverse effect on the youngsters of the untouchable communities that aspire for higher education. If this happens its responsibility will go only to the government. The policy of the government is a mystery in matters of the progress of the untouchables. If we shout that we do not get government service the government tells us that we do not have qualified men for the services. When qualified man was available why did you not appoint was the question asked in legislative assembly, the answer was that the reason cannot be revealed. Is it not an extraordinary situation? As a matter of fact it will not be wrong if the government give government services to the untouchable candidates without bothering much for their educational qualification as the community is so weak and feeble. But when the government did not consider the case of a qualified man for appointment it is a fact that the government is not interested in the welfare of the backward classes. Had the government revealed the real reason for not appointing Mr. Jadhav we would have known the policy of the government towards the untouchables. Till today we believed

in the government asserting that it will not practice untouchability in the government offices. But we are now feeling that their claim is meaningless.

It is our considered opinion that Shri Jadhav was not appointed only because he belonged to the untouchable caste. Because there was no inadequacy in him except the stigma of his caste. This only means that what the government speaks that does not really represent the mind of the government. The sympathy of the government is like the sympathy of the upper caste Hindus. The untouchables will deceive themselves if they believe in this sympathy. The untouchables have some loyalty in some measure towards the government. What is likely to happen is that by their deceptive attitude they may lose that sympathy. The untouchables are losing their faith in government fast as the government has broken III regiment in the army which was raised in the last war recruiting soldiers from the untouchables. The example of injustice done to Shri Jadhav is going to add fuel to the fire further. We would like to warn the government that the unrest that is growing among the untouchables will definitely harm the government. This is not the rising period of the government. In such critical period, they may without anybody's support, prolong at least for some more days on the strength of the untouchables.

5. How difficult it is to enter the government services is amply proved by the example of Shri Jadhav. If by chance some one succeeds in entering the government service how humiliating treatment he receives is indicated in case of an untouchable officer in Belgaum District. Shri Ghatakamble is a first matriculate person in Belgaum District. After passing the Matric examination he secured a job in revenue department. He served for fifteen years very efficiently and diligently and after seeing this Mr. Montford the Commissioner for southern zone recommended that Shri Ghatakamble for appointing on a higher post. On that recommendation Shri Ghatakamble was appointed as third class magistrate in the month of October, 1926. For securing confirmation on this post the candidate has to pass the qualifying test prescribed for it within two years after his appointment. But the surprising thing here is that the

Collector asked him to go back to his old position when Shri Ghatakamble had hardly served for six months in his new post. One cannot say that Shri Ghatakamble's work as a magistrate was not up to the mark. We have received a letter of praise for Ghatakamble's work as magistrate from a LL.B degree holding upper caste pleader who pleaded some cases before Ghatakamble. We are told that the judgments he gave have all stood in the higher court in appeal. Both these aspects give sufficient evidence of the efficiency of Shri Ghatakamble in his official work. When this is the fact, is it not worth censuring that he should be asked to go back to his old position to resume his work there? The difference between Shri Ghatakamble and the man who has been appointed in his place is that this newly appointed man has passed the qualifying test whereas Shri Ghatakamble is yet to do that. But this condition does not come in the way of Shri Ghatakamble because he was to qualify himself by passing that test within two years after his appointment. Had he not passed that test within a given period of time then the question would have arisen_regarding his continuation. When he was appointed under this condition it is wrong to remove him from there before the expiry of period given to him for passing the test. When there are still 18 months at his disposal to pass the qualifying test how does this kind of darkness prevail in the government is not known, undoubtedly this is the work of some clerk in the government office. The surprising thing is that how Mr. Collector allowed the clerk to play his role in this case? The native workers particularly of upper castes do not hesitate to play such discriminating role; therefore, the demand is that there should be English officers as their heads. Truly speaking the English officer means a very big financial burden on Indians. Under their high salaries this country and particularly this province is put under the great burden. Even though we do not have strength to tolerate it still we are doing this only to save ourselves from the tactics of some wicked people amongst us. But when these high salaried English officials by listening those wicked people work against us we have to think whether these are useful to us or not. If we continue to have this kind of experience of their administration then we too will have to stand by those who are demanding for Indianisation of administration. By supporting the cause of Indianisation we know that we may not get anything but we will at least save India's money that is being spent on English officers who receive very high salaries from India's exchequer. We are not opposed to the move of Indianisation but it is also a fact that there is still time to accept the idea that in place of all the English officers there should be Indian officers. The English officers by listening to their subordinates who are mostly high caste Hindus are of no use to us then we will have to think whether there is any point in postponing the proposition of Indianisation of services. If English feel that this proposition is to be postponed then there is only one remedy on this and that is that they should give up their habit of putting signature on the note put up by lower officers, and clerks who are mostly the high caste Hindus, particularly in the matter concerning the untouchables. We seriously warn the Commissioner of Belgaum that even though the Collector of Belgaum has blindly signed the letter demoting Shri Ghatakamble he should interfere and do justice to Shri Ghatakamble. It is here that there lies their genuine interest.

6. Since New Reform Act has been implemented it can now be said that the republican form of government has begun functioning in India. Much has already been discussed over securing the community-wise representation for the legislative councils to keep the new system basically sound. Ultimately it was decided that the representatives of some communities should be secured by election and of some communities by nomination. Truly speaking the representatives of the untouchables also should have been taken by electing them. Though it was not possible to secure their representatives through election at least the strength of their nominated representatives should be proportionate to their population and to their problems. But the government has disappointed them on both these scores. The provision of nominating one or two representatives of the untouchables has been made. No provision was made to take their representatives in the central legislative assembly. For first six years there was not a single

representative of the untouchables there. Sometimes the questions of untouchables' interests were raised in the assembly but the government took no interest in them. Had they had some consideration for them who are weak and whose population equals the population of the Muslims in India, they would have done some justice to them; somehow at least by mistake they have shown some concern to their interest and made a provision of providing one seat in the legislature since last year.

7. On this prestigious seat Shri M.C.Raja has been seated in Madras. We congratulate Shri Raja very sincerely. One thing we did not understand and that is while speaking on the budget Shri Raja has thanked the government for his nomination. We pity his shortsightedness. There are 144 members in the Madras Assembly. By giving one seat from 144 the government has not shown any favour to the untouchables. On the contrary considering the representation that the Muslims got in that province our gain is almost nothing. Our representatives instead of showing disfavour with government for giving very little remained satisfied on their personal gain then how can our community prosper in future? Instead of thinking that the government has nominated us and how and why we should quarrel with government our representatives must struggle with the government which has given to others much more than what has been given to us. This is essential because the reactionary policies of the government towards us are more harmful to us than to any one else. This is really unfortunate that our representatives are failing to understand this. The idea that we have gone to the legislature not to support government but to safeguard the interest of the people must always be remembered by all the representatives and particularly the representatives of the untouchables. In order to acquire strength and stiffness the representatives must think that their places in the legislative assembly are not the gift of the government but it is their right. Mr. Raja does not seem to have this kind of awareness. Had he had that he instead of thanking the government would have censured it for not granting adequate representation for the untouchables in the

legislative council.

8. No body should think that we are criticising Shri Raja only on some minor issues. We are criticising him only because he is ever ready to do whatever the government asks him to do. While doing this he does not bother to find out whether his doing it in anyway beneficial to his own men whom he represents.

It is surprising that Shri Raja voted in favour of raising the salt tax Rs. 1/3-4 instead of 10 annas. When the question of tax comes the rich people pass it on to the poor people and free themselves and the government also follows the footsteps of the rich people in this regard because if it opposes the rich people they are capable to make hue and cry against the government. Therefore, both the government and the rich people as far as possible try to shift the incidence of tax to the poor people. To avert this calamity the demand is made that the representatives that support the cause of poor people must go to the legislative council. But the people who have gone to the legislative council give more importance to their loyalty to the government then what is the use of them to the poor people. We admit that gratefulness is a good quality but when it transgresses its limit it becomes a vice. There must be a limit to the gratefulness. If a patriot for the sake of gratefulness will not be ready to sacrifice the freedom of his country, if a woman for the sake of gratefulness will not be ready to sale her chastity then why the representatives in the council should sacrifice the cause of poor people for the sake of pleasing the government in the name of remaining grateful. Had Raja voted against the government on salt tax that would not have harmed the government in any way. Had salt tax been decided to be of 10 annas that would not have caused any deficit to the government. If Raja is not showing the courage of asking the government to reduce the tax on such occasions then on what occasions is he going to show the courage of asking the government to do that? We do not want to judge on the basis of one incident. Fearing that he may disappoint us by repeating such incidents in future also we are warning him through this for his self-examination.

BAHISHKRIT
BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

Friday, Dated 22 April, 1927

The Struggle Launched At Mahad And The Responsibility Of The High Caste Hindus

How the Brahmanised caste Hindus resorted to hooliganism after the end of the Kulaba District untouchable conference has been already reported in first issue of this paper. It can be said that the untouchables were beaten by the caste Hindus because the untouchables drew water from the Chavadar Tank which has been declared by the Mahad Municipality as the public tank. As a question of making the water available to the untouchables it may be small question and as Bhalakar(the editor of paper Bhala- spear) suggests that this question can be solved by making the provision of water taps. But when viewed form other side this question is not as negligible as it appears to be but it is very important question. This question is related to another major question. It was not a mere hooliganism of the caste Hindus but it is a kind of crusade between the untouchables and the caste Hindus. As a part of Hindu society and as followers of Hinduism whether we have equal rights with other Hindus is the real question behind exercising our right to draw water. The caste Hindus at Mahad by resorting to hooliganism against the untouchables have given the negative answer. The stand taken by the caste Hindus in this connection is a matter of great surprise to us. The crusades took place due to preceptoral differences. In this country this happened between the followers of Vedism and Buddhism. In Europe between Heathen and Christians, between Christians and Mohamedans the conflicts took place and behind these conflicts there were ideological differences. But the struggle that took place at Mahad was not based on any religious differences. At Mahad both competing parties belong to the same religion. This being so that some of our brothers telling their own other brothers that they are socially lower than them and their social contact degrades them beyond any measure and therefore in order to keep them socially at some distance they should resort to lathis against them is a matter that will definitely surprise the people of other religions. In western countries the idea of social equality has acquired social importance. The idea of any kind of inequality never touch them any where in their day to day affairs. By widening the idea of right they have also established political equality. Because of this political equality the idea that who rules whom has gone to the background but how we rule is the idea that has acquired importance. Not only this but with social and political equality why there should not be economic equality is the idea that is being discussed there in western societies and there are signs that this equality is also likely to be realised soon. Truly speaking the religious books of the Christians and the Muslims may not accept equality idea that perfectly. Their religious philosophies have limitations of their own. All men are the children of god and they are all equal in the eyes of god is the essence of their teaching. All men in their internal dealing are perfectly equal is not their teaching.

The doctrine of Hinduism

Is more conducive to the ideal of social equality than the doctrine of Christianity and Islam. Instead of propounding that all men are the children of god the Hinduism proclaims that all men are genuine forms of the god. Where all men are the forms of god then there is no question of somebody being high or somebody being low. Nobody can deny that this is the bright principle of Hinduism. There is no more solid principle than this to establish the empire of human equality. Even though this is so the reality is quite different. The social equality that is found in social practice among the Christians and the Muslims is not at all found among the Hindus even in a slightest possible manner. And when we are trying to establish that equality among the Hindus the Hindus are opposing that effort tooth and nail and this would mean that they do not have even the rudimentary knowledge of the principles of Hindu religion.

In Hinduism some Hindus behave irreligiously with other Hindus and their argument in justification of their behavior is that the thought and practice are two aspects of Hinduism. Even though the untouchables are equal with others in thought they are unequal, impure in practice and behavior. Therefore any socio-religious deal with them is irreligious. If the practices alone are to be observed and the principles are to be ignored then the same should be the practices in politics also when an imperialist like Curzon says that all the declarations made in the Queen's proclamation cannot be implemented then why should the Hindu leaders become sore over that?

What is the use of Mere Principles?

Those that respect this are shamelessly dancing in the name of practices ignoring the Vedanta philosophy saying that it is merely the set of principles. Though it is admitted that the religion has two aspects it must not also be forgotten that the practices in society must also be based on the principles of religion. If this is not then it must be admitted that the religion has no ultimate aim as such. If the practical aspect of religion is not tied to the preceptorial aspect of it then religion, like the boat without compass, will dash to any rock and damage itself beyond repairs. These timid people who argue that practices are more important have no courage to make the Vedantic religion practical and practice it. Wherever some discrepancies occur between the practices and principles of the religion the practices will have to alter to suit the principles. Tilak himself has said that the religion is that which helps man to attain progress towards certain goal. The other side of Hindu religion is that the Shastras have themselves permitted for some changes because the changes thus introduced themselves become in course of time the part of the religion. Our Brahmanised set of people value Tilak's opinion as important, therefore, we have quoted him here. In fact this rational argument needs no support from anybody. If this is not so then clinging to old practices which are harmful will also remain in vogue and the practice like untouchability will never vanish thinking that it is an old practice. But who will introduce the new religion in practice? In our opinion it is to be done by the religious leaders of the Hindus. We have quoted above that Tilak too held the same opinion. What did these people do at Mahad is a question that poses itself. We think that on one hand the caste Hindus say that all men are forms of the same god and on the other hand they think that some men are born in a particular caste and therefore they are unholy. These people should have made some efforts at Mahad to remove this blot on Hinduism. The caste Hindus put a blot on high moral tradition of Hinduism by condemning the untouchables. The Hindu leaders would have prevented the caste Hindus from doing that irreligious act. The other people coming to Hindu fold have stopped. It is declining in strength. Under the circumstances what is the point in troubling those regarding them as untouchables who regard themselves as Hindus. Treating them as their equals and setting that example to others would have been a wise step. We would not have felt bad had the caste Hindus stopped their feud only on the issue of untouchables drawing water from the public tank at Mahad. What made us genuinely unhappy was after the untouchables drew water from the tank the purification ceremony was performed in which they showed their conservative reactionary mentality against the untouchables. By their purification ceremony they have tried to show that the untouchables are impure, their mere touch pollutes water and makes it impure for the use of caste Hindus. These dastardly people who performed the purification rite

Have Defamed the Untouchables

Is our charge against them. Why should we not make defamation cases against them in the courts is a question that arises. But here even if we keep aside the defamation case against them one thing they have showed us is that if the untouchables become Muslims the question of pollution will not arise for the caste Hindus. Because the practice that prevails at Mahad is that the Muslims draw the water along with the caste Hindus and that does not pollute the water. This is nothing but the betrayal of the religion. On one hand the efforts are being made to bring the people who have gone from Hinduism to other religions back and on the other hand treating the untouchables who are in Hindu fold contemptuously making them wrathful is not a sign of being in the senses. This is nothing but the betrayal of the ideal of that great man Swami Shraddhanand. Our opinion about the purification movement is that today Hindus need unity more than the purification movement. By purification movement the Hindus may increase their population. But today the Hindus are sustaining defeat from the Muslims not because that the Hindus are in minority. The power does not always depends upon the numerical strength. In our opinion the real power depends upon the determination and not upon the Numerical strength.

The people with determination will never totter on any occasion even if they are in minority. Where lies the power of the Muslims? It lies in their determination and not in their congregation. If this is admitted then instead of purification movement the Hindus undoubtedly need the oganisation of unity which would produce power and strength. If Hindus are to gain strength and power they will not gain it by outward remedy like building wrestling houses and cockpits. The caste system and the practice of untouchability have destroyed the sense of oneness, love and brotherhood among the individuals in Hindu society. And hence the caste system must be destroyed to attain the goal. But instead of harping upon the issue of destroying castes and untouchability the caste Hindus are making efforts to produce animosity between the caste and caste and between caste Hindus and the untouchables. This is amply proved in the stand taken by the caste Hindus against the untouchables at Mahad.

In fact when Hinduism is passing through a critical phase the high caste Hindus behaved in highly irresponsible manner at Mahad against the untouchables and what we particularly write here is that in this kind of

Atrocious Act against the untouchables the Non-Brahmins particularly participated in a big way. We particularly experienced this at Mahad. They participated not only in hooliganism at Mahad but even after that they are still harassing the untouchables in villages and we are receiving reports about their doing against the untouchables in villages every day. These people are so rustic that they do not feel any shame in beating people and even desecrating women. The Non-Brahmin party is born to reorganise Hindu society on the basis of equality of all men in Hindu society. The Non-Brahmins of the villages are within this party as its members and it is shameful that they should behave violently against the principles of Non-Brahmin party. We are going to write about our opinion on the Non-Brahmin party independently. In that we will write about our opinion on the responsibility of Non-Brahmin Party. What we particularly noticed in the riots at Mahad was that the Shetjis and Bhatajis wearing Tilak shirts and Gandhi cap with lathis in their hands had come violently in protecting the Brahmanism. Not only this but it is these people who sent the message to the villages that their tank at Mahad has been polluted and the villagers should protect their wells in the villages. This way they instigated the Non-Brahmins in the villages against the untouchables who are a minority community in every village. We congratulate these Shetjis and Bhatajis for their bravery in protecting the Brahmanism. But we would like to remind them of one thing and that is that the castes included among the Non-Brahmins are unwise and stupid like the monkeys.

By giving Burning coal in the hands of Monkey the disaster that is going to occur must be remembered by the Shetjis and Bhatajis. It is recorded in history that the same Non-Brahmins once upon a time cut the noses of the Shetajis and Bhatajis and burnt the houses of them in the Ghat area. The events that took place in Ghat area who knows that the same will not be repeated in Desh area? The people who are using them as their stick the same stick will hit them tomorrow is to be remembered by the users. Recently a news has been published in a newspaper. In the issue of Kesari dated 29-3-1927 an information has been given under the title "Incidental saying", the passage given below has been taken from the same;

7. The leaders of the Satyashodhak Samaj deliver big talks on social equality but as soon as the winds of their message

spread to the people of the villages the life in villages becomes surcharged with casteism and caste hatred and the lives of the Brahmins become intolerably miserable. The writers of the Satyashodhak Samaj always mention the names of Buddha, Christ and Gandhi. But no efforts are made to check the atrocities and the malicious acts resorted to by the workers in the villages. Therefore , the Satyashodhak Samaj has been taken to be an organisation spreading caste hatred among the people, particularly among the villagers. We get the reports every week of the troubles created by the Satyashodhak village workers. Among the trouble makers the Non-Brahmin school teacher in the village is the chief instigator. Such school teacher after coming to the village disturbed the peace and unity and instead of social equality the quarrels and animosities take its place.

8. Out of many examples I give just one example here. "xx village population about 1000 in which 30 are Brahmins, 200 Marathas and rest are of Shepherd and Mahar castes. For the last two years the wind of the Satyashodhak Samaj is blowing here in this village. In the beginning the movement was in an infant stage but it has now taken a shape of a burning fire. The school teacher is a leader of the Satyashodhak Samaj there in that village. Many illiterate villagers behave as per his instructions. He teaches the songs like "My request to the farmers is that they should not have any association with Brahmins(Bhatajis)", such songs are taught to the boys. The women of the Brahmin and Marwari (merchant) castes are finding it difficult to move freely out of their homes. If any woman is found on the road the boys cast stones at her. If the Brahmins make any effort to get this news published in the newspapers they are beaten on the road , they are threatened that their hey stocks will be burnt etc. A Musalman teacher who took the side of the Brahmins was threatened for life and was actually beaten. If such information is published giving name of the village the Brahmins who are in minority are troubled more. The name of the village is dropped here.

9. We pleaded these cases before the Satyashodhak Samaj leaders and to some others who are enamoured by the social

equality language of the leaders of the Satyashodhak movement but it is of no use. Therefore, the Brahmin community by coming together should work out remedy over this problem.

Some Brahmins are leaving the villages, some are somehow lingering on facing the trouble. The Brahmin conference of Greater Maharashtra is meeting at Akola(Vidarbha) and it should consider this problem seriously. A central committee should be appointed entrusting to it the task of collecting the complaints coming from various places, particularly from the villages and the same should be brought to the notice of the government, also to the people from time to time and if the government officers are ready to enquire into the complaints then the names of the culprits should be divulged to them. But our experience is that the complaints lodged to the government have proved to be of no use.

By Hearing the Vedas

From the mouth of the Saitan who will not feel surprised? Who will show sympathy for those who will not behave with others with justice? If the head of the serpent is crushed who will feel sorrowful for that? As a matter of fact the untouchables are in a minority in every village and the Non-Brahmins commit all sorts of atrocities against them. In fact as fellow-sufferers the untouchables should have felt sympathized for the Brahmins but at least to-day they do not feel so. Had the Brahmins showed any sympathy for the untouchables at Mahad the untouchables would have helped Brahmins against the Non-Brahmins atrocities over them. But these Bhatjis have not yet understood the dreadful future that is waiting for them. Had they realised this they would not have behaved with the untouchables in the manner they did at Mahad. But this question is related to their own good and hence it is to be solved by them only. However, we would like to tell them emphatically that so far we also believed like Mahatma Gandhi that the untouchability is a blot on Hinduism but now we have changed our own body and our own self. So long as we believed that the untouchability is a blot on Hinduism we thought removing this blot was the responsibility of the caste Hindus. But now we have come to the firm conclusion that the untouchability is a blot on us, therefore, we have decided to remove it by us only, and we regard this work as a holy work. While doing this work we will not care if some of us will have to sacrifice our lives in attaining our goal. By the act of purifying the Mahad tank the caste Hindus have tried to show that we are impure let them do it thousand times. We do not care for that. However let them know that we will not stop our agitation unless they themselves recognise us that we are pure like them.

We would regard ourselves as most fortunate if we are to remove the blot put on Hinduism by the high caste Hindus. We have become fearless with a view that we are to become the messengers of such a holy cause. We now do not feel anything bad about the fighting that took place at Mahad. When we think of mere fighting at Mahad we feel bad about only one thing and that is that the untouchables lost an opportunity of giving a befitting reply to the caste Hindus. Had the untouchables taken it seriously they would have resorted to tit for tat method. But we did not view the matter as mere fighting. We viewed it as a religious struggle for the sake of winning the ideal of social equality for us. Let anything happen in the beginning the ultimate victory will belong to us. While fighting for the holy cause of one's own people and one's own religion there should not be any bloodshed is our sincere view. But in case if we are forced to resort to that we will also not go back upon it under any circumstances and we will not be responsible for it is our warning to our opponents.

Self-Introduction

Public Meetings and Other News Items
Condemnation of the Atrocities at Mahad

Belgaum District

A public meetings of the untouchables was organised at Gavnal, District Belgaum, on 4-4-1927. In the meeting Shri Devaram Ramaji Ingle was congratulated for his election to the District School Board, Belgaum. In the meeting they denounced the high caste Hindus who did atrocities on untouchables that drew water from the tank at Mahad, District Kulaba.

District Nasik

On 27-3-1927 a meeting of the untouchables was held at Ozar, District Nasik under the chairmanship of Shri Karkare K.G. to denounce the atrocities done by the caste Hindus against the untouchables at Mahad. In the meeting it was resolved that the meeting condemns the caste Hindus atrocities at Mahad and the government was urged that it should take necessary steps to secure justice to the untouchables. On behalf of the Mumbai city branch of Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha a meeting was held under the chairmanship of Shri S.K.Bole, M.L.C. on 9th April, 1927, at 8p.m. at Parel, Poyabavadi on the ground of Damodar Hall to protest against the atrocities done at Mahad by the caste Hindus against the untouchables. Almost two thousand people attended the meeting. Shri S.K.Bole spoke for an hour explaining all the issues involved in the Mahad episode very systematically. After this the secretary of the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha Shri Sitaram Shivatarkar by speaking on the Mahad episode proposed the following resolutions.

Resolution 1st : After the Kulaba District Bahishkrit conference on 20th March,1927 the members went to Chavadar Tank at Mahad and drank the water from it as the tank was made open to all by the resolution of the Mahad Municipality. The caste Hindus became wrathful and beat the untouchable members there at Mahad. This conference, therefore, protests strongly against the atrocities of the caste Hindus at Mahad on the untouchables. This dastardly act of caste Hindus of Mahad is against the Hindus Shuddhi movement and the policy of the Indian National Congress and therefore it is anti-national. This conference brings this to their notice.

Resolution 2nd : This meeting authorises the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha to take deputation to Hon. Governor to plead the case of the untouchables regarding the drawing of water from the public tanks wherever the touchables prevent them from drawing water.

Resolution 3rd : After the Kulaba District's Bahishkrit conference at Mahad was over the members gathered there went to the Mahad Chavadar Tank and openly drank water there. We congratulate the members for the courage they showed in doing that. Hereafter wherever the untouchables organise their conference there they, along with the touchable leaders who do not believe in the practice of the untouchability, should draw the water from the public tanks or wells to establish the rightful claim of the untouchables.

Resolution 4th : The municipalities passing the resolution of throwing the public water resources open to the untouchables should see that their resolution should not remain on paper only but they should immediately bring it into practice by inaugurating it in public immediately.

Resolution 5th : We feel sorry that the government has left it to the sweet will of the municipalities and the local boards without seeing whether public places have been allowed to be used by the untouchables. It is because of this the S.K.Bole Bill that has been passed in the legislative council for throwing the public places open to the use of the untouchables also has not become effective. Therefore, we feel that the government should prepare the list of the public places and take it on its own to throw them open for the use of all the public including the untouchables.

Resolution 6th : It is our experience that wherever the untouchables try to use the public places, conservative caste Hindus instigate the ignorant and illiterate caste Hindus against the untouchables and this produces the riots. Therefore, we suggest that the government by finding out such anti-social elements prepare their list and bring them under criminal procedure code and the bond should be taken from them for maintaining peace and order.

Resolution 7th : At Mahad the caste Hindus by performing the purification ceremony at the Chavadar Tank insulted the untouchables beyond any measure. This conference unanimously condemns their inhuman act. It is these who indulged in the act of purification are responsible for organising hooliganism against the untouchables at Mahad. This conference urges the government to take stern action against the culprits.

The above mentioned resolutions were seconded by Shri Balaram Ramaji Ambedkar and were supported by Shri Vanamali, Shri Gangavane, Shri Kholawadikar and Shri Shinde and the resolutions were passed.

After this Shri Naik, the editor of the paper Brahmin-Non-Brahmin, Shri Bagave and Shri Bhatakar spoke on the occasion and protested against the atrocious acts of the caste Hindus calling it as irreligious and was an act comparable to the episode at Jalianwala Baug. In this conference some members gave the donations which are mentioned below:-

The Mahar workers of the D Macropoly company, Bandra gave Rs.75/-, Mahar Headmen of the workers of General Hospital gave Rs.10/-, Shri Rambhau Radho Chikhalkar gave Rs.5/-, Shri Vishram Ramji Dasgaonkar Rs.5/- and many people by paying Rs. One each became the members of the organisation. Then after performing the vote of thanks to the chairman and to the people who attended the meeting the work of the meeting was over. All this has been communicated to us by the secretary Shri Shivatarkar.

Again on 17-4-1927 at Chandanwadi, Mumbai, a big meeting was organised under the chairmanship of Shri

M.N.Joshi, to condemn the atrocities at Mahad. Almost two thousand people attended the meeting. In the meeting the donations were given to the Mahad atrocity fund. The donations were as follows:-

The headmen of the Chuini Maharwada Mahim gave Rs.50/-, the Chandanwadi Kokanasth and Deshasth Mahar headmen (Panchas) gave Rs.60/-, the government sarkari lane Panchas gave Rs.19/- and Shri Ramachandra Navaji Jadhav gave Rs.5/-. All this is informed by the secretary, Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha, Shri Shivatarkar.

District Khandesh

The Mahar Panchas (Headmen of the village) had organised a public meeting at Chalisgaon, District, East Khandesh on 13-4-1927 to protest against the atrocities committed by the caste Hindus on the untouchables at Mahad. The meeting took place under the chairmanship of Shri Hari Vinayak Pataskar, M.L.A., B.A., L.L.B. the high court pleader, Chhatisgarh. About 300 to 400 people had gathered together. The prominent touchable leaders that attended the meeting were Shri Baburao Ghate, Shri Mokashi, Shri Shendurnikar, Shri Barve, Shri Karandikar and Shri Ghate. All these were the practising lawyers. Among others who attended the meeting were the Police Patil Shri Bajirao Rayaba Deshmukh, Shri Damodar Supdu Shet, Kaji Saheb some members of the Shepherd's caste and the leather working community called Mang. After president took the chair the following resolutions were passed unanimously.

Resolution 1st : A public meeting was held under the chairmanship of Dr.Ambedkar Bar at Law, M.L.C., Bombay at Mahad on 20-3-1927. There some caste Hindus beat the untouchables. This meeting unanimously feels that the government should enquire about the people who are responsible for this dastardly act.

Resolution 2nd : This meeting unanimously condemns those touchables who committed atrocities on untouchables at Mahad, District Kolaba.

Meeting At Pune

At Pune in Jedhe mansion a meeting was organised by the Non-Brahmins on 5-4-1927 under the chairmanship of Shri Shripatrao Shinde. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

(1) In Mahad when the untouchables had gathered in the conference they were beaten and tortured by the touchables. This meeting condemns the touchables of Mahad who tortured the untouchables.

(2) The government should enquire about the government servants there who neglected the Mahad episode. Shri Keshavrao Bagade, Javalkar, Gupte(pleader), Rajbhoj, Jedhe, Patade(teacher) and Shri Jadhav spoke on the occasion favouring the resolutions.

On 6-4-1927 at Pune Bhavani Phulewadi a meeting was called by the workers of the Satyashodhak Samaj and condemned the atrocities committed by the caste Hindus on untouchables at Mahad conference.

A similar meeting was also called at Ahilyasrama Pune under the chairmanship of Shri M.K.Jadhav to protest against the caste Hindus at Mahad who harassed the untouchables there when the untouchables drew water from the Mahad tank.

Public Meeting of Touchables-Untouchables together

At Pune a public meeting of both touchables-untouchables was called on 17th April, 1927 under the chairmanship of Shri Annasaheb Bhopatkar. The meeting took place in Camp Education Society's High School at 5 p.m. Almost 200 to 250 people attended the meeting. In his introductory speech Shri Annasaheb Bhopatkar said that "whatever that happened at Mahad was wrong and any sensible man will definitely condemn it outright. The untouchability should not be observed at public places like schools, hospitals and tanks and wells. The untouchables must enter the temples as freely as the touchable Hindus do. When this happens then only it can be said that the untouchability has disappeared (applause). It is a matter of shame and worth censuring that the people of our own religion and society are not allowed to the places where we enter. Beating that took place at Mahad was from the side of the caste Hindus. An enquiry has revealed this and even women and children of the untouchables were not spared. This is annoying and shameful. In fact the women come only next to god. The caste Hindus have committed a criminal act. The untouchability has perpetuated for six thousand years, it is difficult to remove this within six years. Even then a day will dawn in my life itself that I will have an opportunity to see that the practice of untouchability has gone(applause). After this some resolutions were passed . the first resolution was proposed by Shri P.N.Rajbhoj. He stated that, "As per the resolution of the Mahad Municipality the untouchables went to the Chavadar Tank at Mahad and drank the water. Because of this the touchables there attacked the untouchables and spoiled the food prepared for the untouchable satyagrahis who had gathered there. The most shameful act of the touchables was that they did not even spare the women and children from their violent behaviour. This meeting expresses its severe protest against the touchables violence there". After this resolution Shri Rajbhoj who himself was present at Mahad explained the events of Mahad. After Shri Chanhanve seconded the resolution the resolution was passed. Then the second resolution was proposed by Shri Shivaram Janaba Kamble in which he stated that "This meeting expresses its gratitude to the CKPs and the Mohamedans at Mahad who rendered their help and gave shelter to the helpless satyagrahis at Mahad. After Shri Subhedar Ghadge seconded it the resolution was passed. Shri D.D.Savant proposed the third resolution by which he stated that "the government of Bombay should enquire about the events at Mahad and protect the rights of peace loving untouchables who suffered peacefully." This resolution was seconded by Shri G.V. Gaikwad and was declared passed. The fourth resolution condemned the caste Hindus act of purifying the tank at Mahad. This resolution was proposed by Shri Gangavane of Bombay and seconded by Prabodhankar Thakare and was declared as passed unanimously.

An Exchange of Ideas

How Long Should The Poor Creatures Endure?

(Writer- Dattatray Ramchandra Raravikar, Akola)

Sir, I have sent herewith an article to get it published in your newspaper "Bahishkrit Bharat". I doubt whether the article is worth publishing in your weighty paper. However inspite of this I feel that by giving a space for an article of the Brahmin like me you will bring the sympathy that I feel for the untouchables before the bar of the world. It is my considered opinion that India will never have good days unless the caste system as a whole is totally annihilated and I have been telling this to my country men through my writing. Not only this but I have been translating my idea into practice in my own way. However I feel that you will at least publish the important part of my article in your paper.

"By beating the untouchables who drank the water from the Chavadar Tank at Mahad the touchable Hindus have shown to the world that how fallen are the Hindus and how mean is their Hindu culture. Not only the touchable Hindus of Mahad responsible for the events that took place at Mahad but the whole Hindu society and Hindu religion can be held responsible for this. The happenings at Mahad were so shameful that every rational minded Hindu should hang his head in disgrace. Supporting the caste Hindus acts against the untouchables at Mahad in the name of religion and teaching the untouchables that they should behave is an evidence of shame and heartlessness.

In the issue of his paper dated 11-4-1927 Bhalakar (editor) says that "Those who by going to door to door of the caste Hindus beg for food and eat the dirty food which the animals eat such people can never be regarded as touchables. When an untouchable becomes a Muslim he gives up begging food from others. Untouchables on one hand want to beg for food and on the other hand want to draw water from the tank which is used by the caste Hindus ...."

In reality teasing the untouchables like this is hitting upon their age-old wound of untouchability and is an evidence of shamelessness on the part of the caste Hindus behaviour against them. I would like to ask Bhalakar that the low level of social position to which the untouchables of today have reached for this who is responsible? Have you ever pondered over this with calculatedly cool mind? The social position under which the untouchables are living today is it by their own choice? Is their position god ordained by birth itself? Are there any answers to these questions? For the low position of the untouchables the untouchables are not responsible for that but it is the caste Hindus who are responsible for their degradation. The degraded position to which they have reached today for that it is we and our religion that have brought them there. Has Bhalakar ever thought that the untouchables eat the flesh of the dead animal on their own or we the caste Hindus compel them to do that? See what your religious laws say on this?

> The remnants of their(Brahmna's) food must be given to him (Shudra) as well as their old clothes, refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

This passage from Manusmuriti proves that how we the caste Hindus used the power that was in our hands against the low castes. Their present day condition is the result of our work. It is due to our work that they are living a miserable life and we are foolishly holding them responsible for their condition. This is an example of how man deceives himself when he forgets humanity.

The untouchables beg for food because of their grinding poverty but what can we say about the humanity of those who give them alms of the food that is leftover and worth only to be eaten by the animals?

If they have become untouchables by eating the begged food have you ever enquired that the begged food is from your house? If anybody becomes an untouchable by eating the food from your house then one should say that damn that food and damn your position. Even if we accept the Bhalakar's assertion that for the time being the untouchables should not be regarded as touchables because they beg for their food he must know that today there are many untouchables who have revolutionized their thinking and from many years there are saint like people from the untouchables following Bhakti(devotion) cult and they do not even stand near the untouchables who beg their food from the touchables. What have the caste Hindus to say over the advanced category of such untouchables?

> No collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra even though he be able (to do it); for a Sudra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brahmanas. (Manu X. 129)

By this kind of irreligious injustices we left no means and freedom to the untouchables to acquire wealth or earn for their belly independently. While calling them as sluggish we must ponder over butchers like role that we have played in their life when we call the Mahars and Mangs as dirty people and by that we only show how heartless we are. Open your eyes and see what Manu has done to them. It is we who have brought the untouchables to their present wretched condition. It is we who have compelled them to eat the dirty food which the animals eat. It is we who have compelled them to do all this and for their doing we are ridiculing them. Under the circumstances it is not understandable whether our stand towards them is the height of our shamelessness or we should praise the peace that the untouchables are maintaining almost eternally in their age old life.

Bhalakar says that as soon as the untouchables become a Muslim he gives up begging. It is true that the Muslim religion is so liberal that who ever comes to its fold its followers eat with him in the same plate and those that will remain in Hinduism will remain there rotting throughout their life.

The untouchables have remained in Hinduism till today suffering all kinds of ignominies and atrocities. Is it their offence? Today in which area they can work freely and earn their livelihood to lead a good life? Do the caste Hindus have any answer on this? Today the Kunabis and Marathas who are touchables are asking to eat together with the Brahmins and are asking for inter-caste marriages. Then why untouchables should not wish for that? Why Bhalakar by his false propaganda is misleading the public?

Even the Mahars consider it as 'irreligious' to eat food with Europeans whereas we the caste Hindus consider it as our pride to share food with them. But our brethrens(untouchables) who are Hindus their shadow even is not tolerated by us. But when the same untouchable changes his religion we are prepared to tolerate his kicks. Perhaps this is what the Bhalakar wishes to suggest. Whatever it is, my only earnest request and appeal to all my touchable brethrens is that if they have any regard and respect for their religion and culture they should condemn outright the caste Hindu behaviour against the untouchables at Mahad and destroy the untouchability which is likely to destroy our religion and culture. What is the use of making efforts to bring them back when they have gone out of Hindu fold, instead of doing that we should see that they do not go out. It is of no use to dash with Muslims and Christians by launching the Shuddhi movement among them. It is like jumping into the battlefield with the sword of word and shield of potsherd.

My dear touchable brothers do not arouse the anger of these poor creatures by continuing their harassing. If their fire of anger is aroused it might be calmed only after burning everything.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
PostageRs.3
Single issue for
1½ annas.

Printer :
Balkrishna Anant Tate

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi ,Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, dated 6th May, 1927 [Issue 3rd

Day-to-day Problems

1 The information of water episode that took place at Mahad has been published in 'Bahishkrit Bharat'. Similarly the other papers have also published the information. We agree that the information published in Bahishkrit Bharat and in other papers is not similar. But we do not agree with the version of the newspaper 'Kolaba Samachar'. Its information that how many people were beaten has not been published by the Bahishkrit Bharat is wrong. The Kolaba Samachar in its issue of 16-4-1927 has stated that "how many Mahars were beaten at Mahad has not been mentioned anywhere. But the statement that hundreds of Mahars were beaten and that too severely is wrong. Dr.Ambedkar himself does not state this in his newspaper "Bahishkrit Bharat'. After being beaten the Mahars went to government guest house to meet Dr.Ambedkar. Their number was about one hundred and some of them were injured". This is what has been written. The game that the Kulaba Samachar has played, by taking advantage of the information that we have published in our newspaper, is not proper. The information published in other papers can be

proved wrong only on the basis that we have not published that information. Why should Kolaba paper keep mum on the information that the caste Hindus attacked the untouchables while eating their food and this has appeared in many papers. Why should it be wrong if the same has appeared in our paper? On the contrary the information that when people began congregating Fauzdar came there and enquired and he separately met the Non-Brahmin leaders. This has been given by us in our paper and this information has not appeared in any other papers. The Kolaba paper took this information as authentic and made us comment on it. In this connection our explanation is that the information published in Vijayi Maratha, Dnyan Prakash and Navakaal is quite authentic because their reporters were present on the spot at Mahad and hence their account is based on first hand information. Therefore, their information is definitely dependable. In such kind of riots it is difficult to observe all events by one man. Somebody observed on one thing and another man observed on another thing. This explains the difference in the information that has appeared in various news papers. It is true that by collecting all the information together it was possible to print it synthesizing it. However this did not materialise only because after coming to Bombay from Mahad there was no occasion to meet the reporters of various papers that had witnessed the events at Mahad. Had the meeting of the various reporters materialised it would have been possible to print the news in details and synthetically. However the Kolaba Samachar must know that we are not that irresponsible to print the news or information which does not tally to our reading. Therefore, the interested readers must read the various information together thinking that the events mentioned therein are supporting ones to each other.

2. As Kolaba Samachar has tried to disprove the authenticity of other papers' information by taking the help of our information similarly it has tried to disprove the authenticity of our information by taking the help of the information printed in other papers. On our statement that Mamledar Saheb did not resort to prompt action to stop

atrocities the Kolaba Samachar says that Dr.Ambedkar was not happy over the stand taken by the Mamledar. The paper further writes that it is the opinion of many people at Mahad that had Mamledar and Fauzdar not dealt with the situation coolly there would have occurred a disastrous calamity. To please the angry Mahars had they ordered lathi charge or firing the situation would have gone out of control. What would have happened had the firing was resorted to or arrests were made is not the question. The question is what steps the Mamledar and the Fauzdar took to stop the hooliganism of the caste Hindus against the untouchables who were peacefully demanding their natural rights? We have evidences of their not doing anything seriously and we have submitted those evidences to the government. If the Mamledar sahib has no objection in publishing those evidences we will publish those evidences in our paper in order to make it known to the public.

3. The Kolaba Samachar has tried to prove that our information was wrong. Our professional friend in Bombay, Mr. Kolhatkar is not that harsh in his paper Chabukswar (using a whip) against us in his issue dated 16-4-27 but the information in the paper shows that there is a difference between his information and our information. Had the information printed in Chabukswar from Some reporter we would not have bothered much about it but the editor himself is saying that he toured Mahad and collected the information and he has printed the same in his paper. Therefore, it has become necessary that we should review his information to prove whether it is right information. His first assertion is that the beating that took place at Mahad is not due to untouchables drawing water from the Chavadar Tank but it was because of the rumour that the untouchables were to enter the temple of Vireshwar. This means that had there been no rumour mentioned above the beating of the untouchables would not have taken place. This assertion is unacceptable to us. After drawing water from the Chavadar Tank the untouchables straightway returned to their camps. Secondly Dr.Ambedkar conveyed to the Fauzdar that untouchables had no intention to enter the Vireshwar temple. After this also the caste Hindus

who had gathered around the temple did not leave the temple. Thirdly, when Dr.Ambedkar was taken to the people who had gathered around the temple they did not ask him whether he was to enter the temple. Instead they asked him why he and his people drew water from the Chavadar tank? And it is on this issue they began discussing violently. What does it indicate? It indicates that the ashamed of the resolution of the Mahad Municipality and the support of the some touchables of Mahad to the cause of the untouchables they have cooked the fake story of the untouchables' temple entry which was not their intention. Our argument is fully justified by the fact that the caste Hindus performed the purificatory act to purify the water of the Chavadar tank. They do not do anything of this kind in the temple. Rumors like a Chambhar washed the leather in the Chavadar tank, some untouchables demanded caste Hindu girls in marriage etc. were spread to instigate the caste Hindus against the untouchables. But the real fact is that the untouchables behaved in most orderly and disciplined manner. They were so peaceful in their behaviour that none tried to retaliate when caste Hindus attacked them with sticks and lathis.

4 The editor of Chabukswar undoubtedly has collected his information from some caste Hindus that stood against the cause of the untouchables. The caste Hindus were bound to give wrong information to hide their blackened face was a certainty and was to be remembered by the editor of the Chabukswar. His information is full of wrong details. For example he says that on that occasion many untouchable workers including Dr.Ambedkar were kept under police protection. Had they fallen in the hands of caste Hindu rioters some untoward incidents might have occurred. This is again misleading. The untouchables who had gathered there were in two camps Dr.Ambedkar and other leaders who had come from Bombay stayed in the government guest house which was only at a distance of 200 yards from Vireshwar temple. Other camp where the untouchable workers stayed was at the distance of 1½ miles away from the first one. It was not possible if one camp was attacked to reach the help from another camp

so easily. In first camp there were hardly ten people. Even then these brave caste Hindus did not muster courage to attack the camp. Chabukswar reporter enquired with only the caste Hindus at Mahad. Had he enquired about the episode with the untouchables at Mahad he would have understood the situation quite appropriately. In order to find out the truth he toured the area in Mahad but he took shelter only in falsehood and printed the fake information in their paper Chabukswar.

5. The information as to how the decision to go to Chavadar Tank and the efforts made by us to assess the opinion of the caste Hindus of Mahad has been printed in the first issue of the Bahishkrit Bharat. In that information we have stated that the decision of going to the Chavadar Tank was taken due to the fact that the opinion of the caste Hindus was favourable to the move of the untouchables. But now the caste Hindus that supported the move of the untouchables are saying that they have not done that and are running away from their earlier stand. Shri Joshi by writing a letter in the paper Dnyan Prakash dated 1-4-27 has declined that he supported the move. This is an example of uncertainty of his views. Shri Joshi says in his letter that it is wrong that the untouchables went to the Chavadar Tank on his saying, he argues that there was no reference to Chavadar Tank in his speech. Shri Joshi is wrong. The untouchable workers who had gathered at Mahad all know that it is not only Shri Joshi or Dharia because of whose behest the people went to the Tank they went their because of the support of all the touchables that had gathered there in the meeting. Because the resolution that was passed regarding going to the Chavadar Tank was shown to all the caste Hindus who had gathered there and they had approved of all the resolutions, except the resolution on inter-caste marriages, that were passed in the meeting. It was not possible for every caste Hindu to make his speech in the meeting. Therefore, they entrusted this task to two of their leaders Shri Joshi and Shri Dharia and they made the approving speech on behalf of all the Hindus that had gathered there. In fact the resolution was that the touchables should use the public water resources like the public tanks and public wells was a general resolution and

everybody including Joshi approved this. If Shri Joshi thinks that his general resolution does not apply to the Mahad tank it is his foolishness and nothing else. Shri Joshi should have thought twice before rendering his support to the general resolution which inevitably covered the Chavadar Tank. But this brave Brahmin, after seeing that the general resolution was put into force immediately in case of Chavadar Tank, is so much perturbed that he is now selling a lie that he did not know that the general resolution covered Chavadar Tank also. Shri Joshi writes with pride that "he cannot go with the leaders of the untouchables as the untouchables are likely to loose the sympathy of the upper caste Hindus due to their coercive agitation". Just to save his skin if Joshi is cooking such a false thing let him do that. We need not care for such things. When we said let us go and on this the language that he used is still sounding in our ears. He said that he will not come, your line of approach is not our line of approach. On this the untouchable leaders replied that Shri Joshi does not act as he thinks whereas there is no inconsistency in thought and action of the leaders of the untouchables. If he does not come we will go said the leaders of the untouchables. This is what was transpired there and the same has been honestly reported here. If Shri Joshi thinks that his version alone represents truth and our version is wrong let him satisfy his ego. We have nothing to do that. When Shri Joshi supported the resolution of going to the Chavadar Tank it was his duty to go to the tank with others who went there. Why did he not do that? It does not mean that his accompanying would have avoided the beating of the Satyagrahis. Had he accompanied the Satyagrahis perhaps he would have also suffered but it would have been proved that Shri Joshi is not a casteist, he loves only the truth.

6. We do not want to make Shri Joshi and Shri Dharia the subject of our criticism. We have read in the newspaper that they are being harassed by their own caste men. Shri Joshi escaped the social boycott from his caste men only by giving his consent to the purification of Chavadar Tank. Even then also it is said that, he was strongly reprimanded by his caste men. Shri Joshi's friend Shri Dharia also met the same fate.

Shri Dharia was strongly threatened by his caste men but he also escaped the punishment only by paying Rs. 1 and ¼ to his caste Sabha. They would have been the worse sufferers had they participated the Satyagraha because they were the main targets of the caste Hindus. In our view if that had happened they would have expiated their sin which they have accumulated for years together. These who are not prepared to give up their caste, how are they going to free the other castes from the tyranny of their own caste? It is a critical situation that we are experiencing. Under the circumstances, in our opinion, it is sinful if one does not act as he speaks. Those who are convinced of the importance of the reforms must bring it into their practice first. It is here there lies the genuine progress of our nation. We do not think that there is any much difference between those who are opposed to reforms and those who believe that the reforms should be left to the changing time. In fact it is later section of the people that is more harmful to the reforms. They deceive the people who support reforms by their thought and action. These so called reform supporters argue out in favour of reforms with their own caste men sometimes but when their own caste men threaten them with consequences they safely withdraw their support to reform and follow the path of their own caste men. We are of this opinion that those who pretend to support the reform but in reality care more for the caste are of no use to our cause. A reformer is he who is the enemy of his caste traditions. He has to give up his caste and form his association with those that have also given up their caste traditions and to work for reforms. Then only there are chances of an ideal attaining its goal. Those who cling to their caste but talk of reforms they ridicule the reforms.

7. Compared to these deceivers the editor of the Marathi newspaper 'Bhala'(spear) is tolerable. At least he has not worn a false garb on his face. He has shown himself that he is not only the opponent of reform but also not the supporter of the just struggle of the untouchables. Since he is out and out our enemy we love to fight him. But people like Shri Joshi and Shri Dharia, who are neither with the reformers nor with its

opponents are really dangerous to our cause. Therefore, we cannot rely on them. They can betray us any time. It is better not to have such friends. The editor of newspaper 'Bhala' in his issue dated 28-3-1927 had written somewhat arrogantly asking the untouchables that "they should stop their agitation of polluting the Hindus' temples by their entry and public water tanks by drawing water from the tanks otherwise we will hit them in their backs". On this we have retorted to him in his own words in our newspaper "Bahishkrit Bharat" by writing that we will neither stop our agitation nor will we keep quiet. Those who will try to hit our backs we will break their heads. After reading our message this lover of Hinduism and the leader of Hindus has come down so suddenly giving up his arrogance that he has now asked the untouchables in his next issue that they should go slow as reforms cannot be done suddenly. It can take its own time. On this sudden change in him indicates that his first stand was not genuine, it was hypocritic. This hypocrite now by giving up the language of beating the untouchables has resorted to the rational argument. Since he has changed we have also given up our earlier language and answer his argument rationally. The editor of 'Bhala' in his issue dated 11-4-1927 writes that "the people who had gone to Chavadar Tank at Mahad among them there may be many Mahar-Mangs who must have begged their food previous day and must have also done the same next day. The man who goes to the doors of others for begging the food and eats that food which only animals eat, how can that man be regarded as a touchable? It will never be possible to do so. An untouchable converted to Islam gives up begging for food. Similarly the Mahars and Mangs should give up begging the food from touchables. Their untouchability will vanish within one generation. But the untouchables on one had wish to beg their food from the touchables since the food is available without any labour on the part of untouchables and on the other hand they also wish to draw water from the tanks along with the touchables. How is it possible, he asks. Among the untouchables it is the Mahars and Mangs who are most dirty castes. The Chambhars and Dhors do not beg but still they live well. Even the Scavengers do not eat the food which is left over, then why should the Mahars and Mangs eat the food which is leftover by higher castes after their eating. Therefore, our suggestion to Shri Ambedkar is that he instead of abusing us should try to remove the dirty habits mentioned above from his caste men". The Mahad episode had caused consternation to the editor of Bhala. His desire was that the untouchables should remain as untouchables forever but how this should happen was his problem. He issued some threats but soon he realised that his threats have no effect. He then tried to produce a definition of untouchability in order to perpetuate the untouchability of the present day untouchables. His definition is that "those who beg the cooked food are the untouchables." Of course his argument here is that you should prevent the untouchables from begging the cooked food then he and his castemen will make the untouchables the touchables. We feel surprised that the Bhalakar, who wished that the untouchables should remain untouchables forever, has given such a simple definition of the end of the untouchability. If Bhalakar thinks that by giving up eating begged food the untouchables will become touchables then has he ever thought that what effect this change will have over his pet religion- Hinduism? Perhaps he is quite sure that the Mahars and Mangs will never give up begging cooked food because begging cooked food is in their blood and they are used to it for ages together. Otherwise he would not have very eagerly waited to see whether we pass such a resolution or not. This kind of resolution has already been passed in the Mahad conference. But the Bhalakar is not ready to believe in it. Here one thing is that we are not in a position to understand that why an individual who eats food cooked by the Brahman in his own house should become an untouchable? We are hearing it for the first time from the mouth of Bhalakar that Brahman is so inauspicious that the eater of the food from him becomes an untouchable. Till to this day the untouchables were thinking that the Brahmins are the holy caste and hence they did not hesitate in eating food from them. If Bhalakar thinks that an individual by eating food cooked by his caste men becomes impure he then be rest assured that the untouchables hereafter will not repeat that. It is true that the untouchables eat the food served to them by the so called upper castes it is not their begging. It is the result of the services that they render to the upper caste under what is called as Baluta system. In fact the food that they get is their right which they enjoy due to their services. Some other caste men also eat the food cooked in houses of other castes. It is necessary to know that the Marathas eat the food cooked in Brahmin's house. In Poona proper many women of the Maratha caste work in Brahmin houses as maid servants and wash the utensils. Some of these women run the mess in their houses and serve their customers with the food which is left over in the Brahmin's houses. Since the food is mixed with Ghee the customers eat it with interest. If untouchability attaches with those who eat the food cooked in other's houses then is Bhalakar ready to regard the Marathas who eat the food which is mentioned above as untouchables? What do the students of Bhalakar's caste do when they beg for Madhukari(food) from others' houses? Do they not beg for cooked food? He does not seem to be aware while teasing the Mahars and Mangs that the tradition of begging the cooked food continues in his own community since ancient days. Not only this that we must bring to his notice that in Punjab there is a practice among the Brahmins that for their sustenance they beg their food from the Non-Brahmins every day. Will the Bhalakar take leadership of the Punites hooliganism to hit in the backs of the Punjabi Brahmins if they go to the water tank of Sadashiv Peth(a Brahmin lane) in Pune? Untouchability is not permanent it has a casual origination? It is a matter of satisfaction that the view of ours is also the view of Bhalakar. In his view both leather workers (Chambhars) and Scavengers do not beg for cooked food, then the justice demands that these two community people must be regarded as touchables. As opposed to this the Brahmin students who beg for cooked food or food begging Panjabi Brahmins or left over food eating Marathas in Pune must be regarded as untouchables. Is Bhalakar ready to accept this new classification of above mentioned people? The Bhalakar does not seem to be aware that if his idea of classification is translated into practice how calamitous it will be for the Brahmins. It is known that in every Brahmin's house the Brahmin women eat, like the Mahars and Mangs, the food that is left over of their men after eating. If the eater of the food that is leftover is an untouchable then the Brahmin women who do this must be regarded as untouchables. It is in this circumstances we suggest to Bhalakar that he should withdraw his definition of untouchability and in order to perpetuate untouchability he should find out some other means. In order to cause evil omen for untouchables there is no need for him to get his nose cut. But it does not seem that the Bhalakar will wind it up. It is difficult to believe that the Brahmani Goddess of justice will say that the justice is merciless. It is its usual practice that by placing the Brahmins in exception it has always murdered the moral practices. The Brahmin is superior in all the three worlds however fallen and corrupt he may be is the belief of Bhalakar therefore he firmly believes that the Brahmins eating the food which is left over by other Brahmins will remain Brahmins, because nothing will pollute them.

8. In his issue dated 25-4-27 Bhalakar writes that "The Chambhars, Dhors, Mahars and Mangs, these sub-castes of the untouchables should have one well and one temple which they should use in common and then only they should place their demand to the touchables". After all the people of untouchable communities are ignorant and unlettered and asking them to shoulder such responsibility is not justiceable. If it is a matter of attaining success this can also be done. But we feel bad when the advanced people like the Brahmins entreat the backward people like the untouchables that they should show the proper path to the Brahmins. It is their tragic state of affair indeed.

Water episode at Nagar.

A Story of an Old Quarrel Between
The Converted Christians And
The Brahmanistic Minded Hindus.

There occurred a dispute over the water between the Christians who were converts from the low caste Hindus and the caste Hindus in 1859 in Ahmednagar. The Christians faced the water problem in their day to day life. The Christian Mission had two-three bungalows in Ahmednagar, of these there is a water tap in one bungalow. Though this bungalow was at a greater distance from the Christian locality the Christians used to fetch water from there only. Sometimes the water supply from the tap was irregular causing serious water problem to the Christians. They knew that according to law they have the right to take water from the government (public) tanks. But since they did not exercise this right for a long time knowing well that the caste Hindus will stand in opposition, if they do it now, was their fear. Of the missionaries one missionary by name Rarebesa stayed near Delhi gate for many years from the year 1839 in a bungalow. That time the Christians used to take water from the water taps that were in the city. But now that practice was discontinued since long. Almost fifteen years had gone for the discontinuity of this practice. Therefore, the Christians were in doubt whether they can establish that right now. After some study of the problem they came to the conclusion that they can even now exercise that right. However, the Christians did not dare to exercise that right. Those who were capable employed the supplier of water but among the Christians there were many who were unable to employ the supplier. It so happened in September 1859 that the government officer caught hold of the water suppliers and made them wash the water tank and they did not free them for three days forcing them to wash the tanks. Therefore, those who purchased water from the suppliers suffered for three days. This time Mr.Vishnupant was staying in Gulam Ali's bungalow. He tolerated the scarcity of water for one day. Next day he took with him some Christian friends and his family members and went to the water-tank that was in New Peth. There what happened was that one Christian lady by name Sharjabai carried the water pot taking it from the tap of the tank. When she came again the Hindus gathered there but none came forward to prevent her but a Muslim came forward to prevent her. It is here Mr. Vishnupant and his friends questioned the Muslim for his reason of opposing Sharjabai from taking water from the tank. After some discussion with Vishnupant and his friends and some Muslims the Muslim that opposed Sharjabai became ashamed of his opposition. Then that Muslim took water from the tap of the tank and went away by uttering to himself that "why should a Muslim worry for the pollution, if he utters 'Bismilla' everything becomes pure for him." But the Hindus particularly the Brahmins were not convinced of it. They declared that the tank is polluted by Sharjabai hence the tank fell unutilised. Not only this but the Brahmins asked the people to declare strike by keeping the shops closed since the tank has been polluted by a low caste woman(Maharin) who is converted to Christianity. This step alone will open the eyes of the government was their view. But the response was very poor, very few people kept their shops closed.

After this the Hindus submitted an application to the Magistrate of Ahmednagar stating that two Christians one Vishnu Bhaskar and another Shahu Daji Kukade polluted the water tank by making a converted Mahar woman to take the water from the tank. The government has given two tanks to the Christians in their area only. There is no practice of Christians taking water from the tanks in other area. The Christians are going against the Act of 1828 Rule 17, Column 1, and the Queen's declaration of 1st November 1858, Column 7, and are troubling us. Therefore, the Christians should be prevented to take water from the tank of New Peth (Market). There were 432 signatures on the application. Among the signatories majority were the Brahmins and a few were the traders and others. The Magistrate of Ahmednagar called

Vishnupant and Mr. Shahu Daji and brought the contents of the application made by the Hindus to their notice. On this Vishnupant and Shahu Daji said that earlier the Christians stayed in one locality and used the water tap that was available to them there. But now they are scattered in the city and are living in different places and hence are using the tap available to them nearby. They also told the Magistrate that the woman who carried the water taking from the tank available in New Peth was not by caste Mahar but was Maratha by caste. Then the Magistrate said to Vishnuapnt and Shahu Daji that their argument is correct and the government has no basis to prevent the Christians from taking water from public tanks. The Magistrate then told the applicants that the Act of 1850 Clause no. 21 says that if anybody changes his religion his earlier rights stand. On this applicants argued that the right of the converted means his property rights such as Vatandari etc. but not the right to take water from any place. This right is a bigger right. In the end the Magistrate told the applicants that he will write to the Bombay government and communicate to them after hearing from the Bombay government.

Here the tank in New Peth(Bazar) remained unused. The Christians took the water from the tank only for two days i.e. 15th and 16th September 1859. Then the caste Hindus made the water dirty by throwing dung and mud in the tank; cattle and other animals began drinking water from it by putting their mouths in it. Women began washing dhotis and their saris in the tank. Not only this but to spoil the water further the caste Hindus made their boys to make water in the tank. Naturally this compelled the Christians to leave this tank and go to other tank. When the Christians went to other tank there also many caste Hindus gathered together but nothing untoward happened because of the presence of the police there. Otherwise the Christians would not have been able to exercise their right. These new tanks from which the Christians were taking the water were also abandoned by the caste Hindus whom the water in the new tanks was dirty and not fit for use. After this the Christians took the water from the tank which is in the western side of the house of Vishnupant. This time there were very few people gathered there but there were no police at the site. Taking advantage of the absence of police some 25 to 30 young men of Sali, Costi and Rangari castes beat the water drawing Christians. A complaint was made to the police Inspector. Police arrested some 15 to 16 people. After enquiry the arrested people were fined Rs. 50 per head and one was fined Rs. 75. The people from Mali-wada thought that the Christians will go to their tanks also. To prevent the Christians from taking water from their tank a group of young men armed with lathis started keeping watch there every day. In case the Christian women came to drive them away the strong an sturdy Mali women with latthis in their hands stood there along with men. This went on for some days and after that the Malis thinking that the Christians will not turn out gave up their efforts of keeping the watch on the tank. Then some Christians staying in the Burud(Bamboo worker) lane went to the tank and fetched water.

Meanwhile the Magistrate of Ahmednagar received the answer from the governor of Bombay over the petition that the caste Hindus had submitted to him for preventing the Christians taking water even from the public tank and the same was forwarded by the Magistrate to the Bombay Governor for his decision. Now the decision given by the Governor was, "that the rights that the people enjoyed earlier will continue to enjoy even after their conversion to Christianity. This is the law. This law will be fully enforced now and those who oppose it will be punished as per the provisions of law. In Bombay and in other places the Christians are free to draw water from the public wells and tanks from where both the Hindus and the Muslims also draw water. In cities water is available from the tanks even to the animals donkeys, horses etc. but the responsible citizens like Christians should not be allowed to take water is the view of the petitioners."

This decision of the Governor was not liked by the petitioners at Nagar. They again wrote to the Governor and his council for reconsideration. On this the government passed the following resolution. "Judicial Department, Resolution

No.3439, dated 24th, October, 1859. By this the Hon. Magistrate of Ahmednagar is informed that he should communicate to the petitioners that their demands are irresponsible based only on misunderstanding. The government will not entertain their demands even for a moment. The many of the water tanks that now exist in Ahmednagar are built by the Muslim rulers. The Hindu dared not say during the Muslim rule that the Muslims have no right to take water from these tanks. The untouchables who embraced Islám freely took water from the tanks. Then how is it that the same untouchables after embracing Christianity when they take water from the tank, the tank is polluted? The petitioners have forgotten their own Shastras according to which the rulers' caste even if it is low is regarded as high. The petitioners misinterpret the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 to suit their purpose.

The Magistrate called the people of the city together and read the Governor's letter before them. However they were not satisfied with that. They wrote another letter to the government of Bombay. In that letter they had stated that some water tanks in the city should be specially kept reserved for the Christians and the remaining tanks should be meant for the use of the Hindus etc. and from these remaining tanks the Christians should be prevented to take water. The government of Bombay referred this letter to the Magistrate of Ahmednagar for his opinion.

After hearing from the Magistrate of Ahmednagar the government of Bombay passed the following resolution on 18th April 1860.

Resolution : "Hon. Governor in Council fully endorses the opinion of the Magistrate expressed in his letter and informs him that the government will never accept the view that the water tanks or taps are polluted when the Christians touched them. This he should inform the applicants, and he should also inform them that they should treat this as the final decision of the government.

In order to secure further justification for his views and resolutions the government sent the resolution to the secretary of state in England. The secretary of state, Sir Charles Wood after studying the resolution passed the resolution No.34 dated 9th August, 1860 and sent the same to the government of Bombay. The resolution runs thus: Sir the complaints of some Ahmednagar people that if the native Christians touch the water tap or water tank there the water is polluted, the papers concerning this complaint and your decision thereof on this were placed before me in the council. Your decision on this has been accepted by us. The people at Nagar have misinterpreted the Queen's Proclamation of 18th, November 1858. This is their mistake. There is nothing in the proclamation justifying the contention of some people at Ahmednagar.

Signed by

Sir Charles Wood

This way the water episode at Ahmednagar went to England and came back solidifying the legal position of the native Christians, who were former Hindus but had embraced Christianity, establishing their legal right to take water from tanks and taps in the city along with all others. However even after this decision some people kept their efforts in appealing the government against their decision which was in favour of the Christians. But this was of no use. Ultimately they had to keep quiet. The Muslims did not support the caste Hindus in this episode. The Shudras and some others started taking water from the same tanks along with the Christians. The Brahmins sent letters to the priests and to Brahmins of some holy places asking for their opinion whether they should take the water from these tanks. It is not known whether the Brahmins of the holy places gave their opinion. But the Brahmins soon started drawing water from the same tanks from which all others including the native Christians drew. In other places in the District the Christians were prohibited by the caste Hindus to take the water from the same tank. Sometimes the Christians were beaten severely. The litigations were made in the courts but the courts invariably decided the litigations in favour of the Christians and their antagonists were punished severely.

Such cases occurred in Pune, Satara and Solapur districts also but there the justice stood with the Christians. In all this we praise the Christians for the blessings they have from the Jesus Christ.

A Special Instruction

In order to enroll the subscribers for the 'Bahishkrit Bharat' we have appointed Veda Murti Shrihari Parayan Shankardasbova Narayandasbova Chitegaonkar. He is going to visit the various places for this purpose. We have given him the right to accept the subscriptions as well as the donations. Therefore, those who are not in a position to correspond with us may contact him for this purpose.

Manager
Bahishkrit Bharat

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, 6th May, 1927

The Crusade at Mahad and The Responsibility of the British Government in India

When the untouchables went to the public tank at Mahad to draw the water the caste Hindus resorted to hooliganism against them and we have written over the irresponsible behaviour of the caste Hindus against the untouchables in our last issues. Today in this issue we have decided to write about the responsibility of the government in India. But before doing that we must decide about the arguments of both the parties.

> In this conflict the argument of the untouchables is that they like touchables should have the right to use the public wells, tanks and public places of worship.

Our rights and their rights are equal and the same in this connection. If we use the public tank and enter the temples meant for the public it is our right. And we should not be prevented to exercise these rights. On this assertion of the untouchables the argument of the caste Hindus is that even if the untouchables are Hindus they are according to Hinduism born impure and unholy. Their touch of the temple and the water tanks and wells makes these impure. The untouchability according to the caste Hindus is the very ancient practice and it has the sanction of the Shastras.

> It is due to this practice which has come down from ancient days the untouchables have no right to enter the temples and touch the water tanks and the wells, assert the caste Hindus.

Thus if the untouchables try to enter the temples and take the water from the public tanks it would mean that they have violated the rule of old tradition and also have gone against the rights of the caste Hindus. And the caste Hindus will have to resist the untouchables for dissuading them from asserting. This explains quite approximately the stand points of both the untouchables and the caste Hindus over the issue of untouchables' entry into the temples and their drawing water from the public wells and the public tanks. In order to decide this issue we are taking the help of a judgment given by the Madras High Court. In the Madras issue (6 Madras 203) the conflict was between the Hindus and the Muslims. The debating issue was whether the musical instruments can be played in front of the Muslim Mosque or not. In this judgment the Magistrate had ordered to stop playing musical instruments while passing through the road in front of the Mosque. The reasons that were given in the justification of the judgment were that the practice of not using the musical instruments in front of the Mosque is very much old. It is such an old practice that it has now become almost an un-written law and a right of the Muslims and to protect this right of the Muslims it will not be wrong to prevent the Hindus to use musical instruments in front of the Mosque. It was also stated in the judgment that while deciding the cases of public importance it is necessary to see that the relation between the castes and communities are not disturbed and their feelings and traditions are honoured. In this judgment the Justice Turner of Madras High Court states that "As far as his knowledge goes that this kind of a case for claiming a community right based on tradition did not appear before the court so far. The province of Madras as a whole was never under the dominance of the Muslim rule and hence it is not possible to believe that the practice of playing musical instrument before the Mosques prevailed everywhere. However it must have been a possibility that wherever there was Muslim rule there the rulers must have imposed their religious traditions on the conquered Hindus and this kind of practices came into vogue when the rulers did not hesitate in converting the religious practices into laws. But the British rule in India is based on equality before law and the secular system of administration and hence it is inconsistent with above mentioned old Indian tradition. If any caste prevents another caste men from using the public road the British government will never tolerate it. In Malabar nobody prevents Pariahs (untouchables) coming to court because of this rule. This system of governance is almost new to India. This is also true that because of this new system some of the old practices are vanishing in India. When the rule of law is established the condition of lawlessness slowly disappears and this new change, it is true, should be acceptable at least to the wise and thinking men. But this should also be remembered that because of the obduracy of some people or a sect the law cannot be set aside. And even if a right is evolved on the basis of a tradition before converting it into a law that tradition must be examined to find out whether it is just or unjust. If a man while enjoying his age old right in his public life is opposed by another man by taking advantage of the tradition then whether the opponent's contention is right or wrong depends upon the validity of the tradition with the help of which he is opposing. The above explanation establishes that it cannot be said that the rights are acquired by its practicing for years together but it also cannot be said that the rights are acquired by its practicing for a few days. Whether practices establish rights depend upon the legal validity of the practices. If the above mentioned explanation is applied to the controversy between the touchables and the untouchables then the issue that emerges is "is the practice of untouchability approved by law?" Those who say that the practice of untouchability is approved by law, it is clear that, they do not know the judgments given by the law-courts from time to time. Just as to-day the touchables prohibit the untouchables from taking water from the public tanks and from entering into the temples the touchables similarly used to prevent the untouchables from using the public roads earlier. But the courts rejected the touchables' contention that they had the right to prevent untouchables from using the public roads. Some years' back at a place 'Teenivelly' in Madras presidency the untouchables were prevented by the caste Hindus to carry the dead body through a particular road in that village. There arose sometimes a quarrel among the two branches of Vaishnava Brahmins on the issue of taking a procession through a particular public road. The verdict of the court on this issue was that "the complainants' basis of complaint that their use of the road is an old practice does not seem to be proper. In Malabar area if a Nayar caste man is going on the road a Chiruman, an untouchable must leave the road in order to avoid his shadow falling on the man of Nayar caste is an old practice. But when an untouchable refused to clear off the road for the man of Nayar caste that Nayar caste man appealed to the court requesting it to order the untouchables that they following the age-old practices should clear off the road when the Nayar caste man passes by the road. But the court refused to accept the old practice as worth following. The Nayars appealed to the Privy Council in England but there also the practice was rejected and upheld the verdict given by the Madras court.

Justice that is applicable to the public roads must also be applied to the use of public water tanks and public temples, is our contention. The tradition which does not prohibit the untouchables the use of public roads how can it then prohibit the untouchables the use of temples and water tanks? As instead of using logical arguments we have given the proof of the judgment of the high court in case of the use of public road we are also giving here the proof for using the public tanks and temples. In matters of public tanks the Lahore High Court has given the decision last year that on the basis of tradition nobody can prevent the untouchables from taking water from the public tanks. The case was that the two Chamars_one Khajanchand and another Garjasingh of the city of Khanna in the district of Ludhiyana insisted to draw water from public well. The touchables went to the court against this. The Magistrate on this ordered the touchables that they should employ someone from their caste to serve water to the untouchables. This work went on for two months then the water drawer who used to supply water to the untouchables by drawing the water from the well discontinued his work. After this Khajanchand and Garjasingh themselves started drawing water from the well. Against this the trouble arose there and the touchables again went to the court. On this the Magistrate by name Sardar Amarsingh asked the complainants to give guarantee that they will not disturb the peace and in case they did it they will be imprisoned for one year. The touchables appealed to the high court over this order. While rejecting their appeal what the judge said was more important. Justice Harrison said on this "that the number of touchables that are opposing the Chamar in his taking water from the public well is very small. All the touchables are not involved in it. And even if all the touchables are involved in opposing the Chamars the decision that has been already given by the court is quite appropriate. The Chamars have every right to draw water from the public wells. In order to support law the touchables should have supported the Chamars in their just cause instead of supporting the opponents." The similar decision has been given in case of the temple entry of the untouchables by the Madras High Court. There some people belonging to the Shudra caste and who were also regarded as untouchables entered the temple and the touchable Hindus filed a suit in the court of the Magistrate and the lower court had punished those Shudras as the practice of they entering the temple was not in vogue. But when the Shudras appealed to the high court the decision of the lower court was reversed. The Judgment said that "it is true that these people (Shudras) did not enter the temple so far but it is wrong to believe that their entry into the temple pollutes the temple". All these above mentioned explanations amply prove that what the untouchables assert is correct and what the caste Hindus assert against the rights of the untouchables in public is wrong.

The Practice of Untouchability Is Not Lawful

By practices the touchables have no right against the untouchables and the untouchables have not lost any right because of the practices. The individual's right in public life is not created by giving any charter. His right is inherent in him. Even if he discontinues in its use for sometimes it does not mean that he has lost it. If an individual has never walked on a particular road before that does not mean that he has no right to use that road, similarly if an individual has never drawn the water from a particular public tank or has never entered the public temple this does not mean that he can not draw water or enter the public temple now.

All this would mean that the untouchables who went to Chavadar Tank at Mahad and drank the water from the Tank did not in any way violate any law. Why Chavadar Tank even if the untouchables had entered the Veereshwar temple their act would not have been against the law. Here the fault lies with the touchables in opposing the untouchables who wish to exercise their just rights in matters of public places. The government should prevent the illegal acts of the touchables who are opposing the untouchables when they wish to exercise their rights which are sanctioned by law. The institution of the government has been established to see that all people exercise their rights equally well and nobody should prevent anybody in exercising his rights. If the government fails to do its duty in this regard some people are bound to suffer. We therefore, feel that those who practised goondaism against the untouchables at Mahad should be appropriately punished by the government. This action of the government is essential because the unlettered and ignorant masses generally believe that they can secure their rights in public life only by resorting to violence and roudism.

One remedy to check the violence and roudism is that the government should impartially take the side of justice and deal sternly with those people who are opposed to the just cause. While imparting justice the government must adhere to the idea of equality and impartiality and while implementing these it must have sternness without coming under any pressure. If the goondas feel that the government is firm in implementing its idea of justice without bothering for opposition of the law-breakers then the riots like one that occurred from the side of the caste Hindus at Mahad will not recur.

It is always advantageous to prevent the riots rather than punishing the rioters after they resort to it. A rule in law demands that nobody should be punished unless it is proved that he had committed the offence. There can be no controversy over the fact that this rule is important as the protection of an individual's right and his protection depends upon this. However there will be a danger to the security of man if the rule is made to prevent offences by harsh use of law even before any offence is committed. If this happens it will produce worries and uncertainty for the people and produce a constant source of trouble. But according to medical science it is better to prevent the disease rather than curing it after it attacks, this can also be applied at least on certain occasions in matters of legal science. In fact waiting for action until the offence is committed is inappropriate. Therefore, it is necessary to take the steps, by reading the situation properly, to prevent the happening of untoward incident and maintain the social security. It is a matter of great satisfaction for the peace loving people that this kind of provision has been made in the Indian Criminal Procedure Code 144 and it is applicable throughout the country. This code has empowered the Magistrate that if he is convinced that an individual or group of individuals are by their action likely to disturb the peace in society he may issue warning against his or their moves. And those who violate his order against them the punishment can be awarded using penal code 188. Now there is some misunderstanding about the main aim in introducing the 'Criminal Procedure Code 144'. This aim needs to be explained in some clarity. Justice Turner, whose name has already been mentioned in this article, has said on article 144 that "When there is an occasion before the Magistrate that he should order for preventing certain action his order should mean for the protection of the rights of the people and not for abrogating the rights. Any action which is legally correct must not be stopped but only that which is legally incorrect. While protecting lawful rights he also knows the disturbers of these lawful rights thereby disturbing the peace in society. Therefore, it is his duty to take guarantee from those disturbers that they will not harm the peace". This article or code has been designed to help the people in exercising their just rights. Therefore we feel that the government should use this article whenever necessary. While using this article the government should also remember that the touchables either directly or indirectly oppose the untouchables in the use of their rights. These people not only practice hooliganism against the untouchables directly but also make their life function miserable indirectly. The caste Hindus express their hatred against them by saying that they eat the flesh of the dead animals and when the untouchables refuse to carry away the dead animal of the caste Hindus the caste Hindus declare the social boycott against them and prevent their entry into the village. The shops are closed for them. Their work as manual labourers is stopped. Thus they make them totally helpless. This way by cornering them everywhere they try to pressurise them against the new path that they intend to follow and bring them back to their old professions of slavery. If the government intends to enable the untouchables to exercise their rights it should use the code 144 effectively against those who make efforts to prevent untouchables to use their just rights. Hence the government should issue the public declaration that the public wells and tanks and the public temples must be open for all or else the wider use of code 144 will be made applicable against those who oppose the use of these to any section of the people under any social prejudice. In matters of such events the local Brahmanised leaders should also be made responsible as it is our general experience that they many times instigate others against untouchables' exercise of their right and keep themselves away from the main incidents. To check their anti-social activities it is necessary that they be made responsible and this is very simple and direct way of smooth sailing the movement of the untouchables. Similarly it is necessary that those shopkeepers who refuse to sell their goods to the untouchables should also be warned. The order that is issued under the code 144 remains in force only for two months. In our opinion this is not enough. The practice of untouchability is very old. For destroying the practice permanently and the touchables changing their outlook and behaving friendly with untouchables will need a very long time. Therefore the preventive order must stand for a longer time. The extending the code 144 for a longer period is the right of the local governments. Our suggestion is that they should exercise this power in this connection.

We are somewhat doubtful whether by accepting our suggestion the government will implement it. Though our government is not reactionary but it is quite hesitating and slow in its action. Instead of marching on it sometimes marks time. And when there is a social problem it wavers beyond measure. We express this fear because there are some people in government who ask us to go slow in matters of our rights. Here we would like to tell the government the suggestion made by Tilak in connection with the problem between untouchables and touchables and between Hindus and Muslims. He had stated that social manners are not the domain of the government, on the contrary the people will behave well as long as they feel that if they go to the government the government will decide their problems according to the government laws. We support this view. First of all untouchables should get their rights which are politically theirs and then there should be the talk of social matters etc. The ideas which the touchables would like to apply to the Muslims if the government ask the touchables to apply the same ideas to untouchables also it will not be objected by anybody. Therefore, the government should not advise the untouchables that they should give up their rights fearing the touchables or they should follow the practices which are in vogue. If the untouchables have no alternative except behaving as per the dictation of the touchables then where is the need of British government in India. We will touch the feet of the touchables and accept whatever they grant to us and ask us to do. But we will tell the government emphatically that ....

The Condition of Olden Days – Is the Story of The Past

Untouchables have not remained frustrated or disheartened as they were in the past. They have now boldly determined to establish their just rights. And they have now acquired their innate strength sufficient enough to oppose those who oppose them. The government should treat both the touchables and untouchables with equal justice and impartiality. It is true that there were no quarrels between the touchables and the untouchables over the rights of the untouchables in public till to date. Now there is a rapid spread of knowledge among the untouchables. The old religious ideas are rapidly vanishing from them. The old idea that the high caste Hindus are their masters and they are their slaves have gone from the mind of the untouchables. The lower position assigned to them by the religion is not acceptable to them and they have determined to assert the equality of status with others. It is our desire that the government instead of ignoring this changed condition should help the untouchables by legal means in their endeavour to acquire their rights. Tyranny that was inflicted at Mahad on untouchables was tolerated only with the view that the government will help the untouchables in their just cause. If this expectation of the untouchables from the government becomes meaningless then the position of Non-violence that the untouchables took at Mahad will not be possible in the next struggle and they will have to take Latthis in their hands for their self-protection. The government must know its responsibility before producing fire by the combination of knowledge and helplessness. Once this fire is kindled to what extent it will spread is not known, hence the government should take precaution to prevent the kindling of fire.

We are thankful to the government for it has accepted the Bole resolution that all the facilities in public places must be available to the untouchables as they are available to the touchables. But what is surprising here is that the government instead of enforcing the resolution by itself it has entrusted its enforcement to the local bodies like the Local Boards or the Municipalities. In this country the local governments are by and large occupied by conservative mean minded high caste people. Therefore, that the untouchables should have the right to use the public places will never be acceptable to these local bodies for another one hundred years. It is not worthy on the part of the powerful government like the British government to ask the untouchables to wait until the caste Hindus have culturally and intellectually grown. Six years have already passed to the passing of the resolution yet a very few local governments have implemented the Bole resolution. It is certainly not befitting to the government to entrust the interests and the rights of such a big human stock like the untouchables to the reactionary bodies like the Local Boards and the Municipalities. Hence the government should take the responsibility of implementing the Bole resolution on its own and this will enhance the prestige of the government and we have every hope that the government takes this responsibility on its own. Now which are these public places is another issue. Here some people interpret public places as the places owned by the government in order to exclude the public tanks, wells and temples so that these can remain beyond the reach of legal provision. Because there are a very few government tanks and holy places which are maintained with the government money. But this cannot be the meaning of public places. It is for the use of total public is the meaning of public place. The public system would mean the system that may be of government or non-government or semi-government. If a gentleman builds a temple or a water tank for the use of the people it should be presumed that these are for the public use and these should be open for the use of every individual in society. If a good intentioned individual produces some good work out of his own income and that work is declared as extraordinary or holy then its creator cannot restrict its use only to a section of people. For example the Vithoba's temple of Pandharpur. It has been built by the people of Vaishnava sect. All Vaishnavaites have a right to worship Vithoba whether it is a Brahmin Vaishnavaite or a Vaishnavaite of Mang caste. If any one throws his glance on the report of the case Sakalat versus Bela verdict given by the privy-council(28 Bombay, Law Report P. 161) he will be convinced that the meaning of the public place given by us here is correct.

We have explained this issue in detail here because this will enable us to throw the proper light on the responsibility of the government over the dispute that occurred at Mahad between the touchables and the untouchables. In this explanation we have also proved that the demand of the untouchables is just and justifiable. We have also explained well as to which facility can be called as public facility. We have also shown the way by which the untouchables can be helped to enable them to exercise their rights in the use of public places and public facilities. Now we are waiting only to see what steps government is going to take in this matter. If the government shirks from its responsibility thinking that it should not displease the caste Hindus then we should think that it has weakened the strength of its own arms. We would end this matter by reminding the government the warning that has been issued by Justice Turner. Justice Turner says that "If the government instead of enabling the people to exercise their lawful rights try to prevent the use of the rights then the public will think that the government is helpless before those who are likely to oppose the use of those rights and this will naturally create an impression among the people that in order to protect ones own rights one has to prepare to resort to hooliganism. When the people will form this kind of impression it will be dangerous to provide protection to those who exercise their lawful rights and even more dangerous in not providing protection to such people".

The public rights of the untouchables who have embraced Christianity have been protected by the government is shown in the water dispute at Nagar discussed above. Now it is to be seen whether the government protects the public rights of those untouchables who have still clung to Hinduism.

Self-Introduction

Public meetings, conferences and other news items

After the Kolaba District Conference of the depressed classes held at Mahad the Mahars have given up eating the flesh of the dead animals and their other dirty habits. Angered by this change in Mahars the Kunabis met at a place called Nadgaon on 18-4-27 in a conference and passed a resolution that the Mahars be beaten and harassed by other ways and means. On 19-4-27 the Kunabis of the same village met in a temple in the evening and summoned some Mahars to the presence and asked them whether they are prepared to eat carrion and do other dirty works as before in the village or not? The reply of the Mahars was that they will never eat carrion because of which we have been degraded. After hearing this the leaders of the village ordered their people that the Mahars be beaten and the poor, helpless Mahars were beaten like anything. The Mahars were severely beaten and injured. The condition of Shri Dhondu and Navaji who are injured is critical. We request the government to take steps to punish the culprits.

In a village Kinjloli, Tal. Mahad the Kunabis of the village have prevented the Mahars from drawing water from the well on the bank of the river. This has caused hardship to Mahars.

From a village called Amalner one Shri Gorank Watku Birhade informs that a boy by name Balkrishna Pitabuwa was dashed by a car driver while driving a car of Bharucha Parsi. The boy was hospitalised for 22 days. When the boy went to the doctor asking for the certificate the doctor abused him and by threatening him of consequences drove him away from the hospital. Will the government do anything for the boy?

On 17-4-27 a festival in the name of goddess Chandika was organised at Patane on the Ajantha Hills, Taluka Chalisgaon, Dist. East Khandesh. In this festival there had come a Poma Mahar of Chalisgaon, in the evening he performed the puja of goddess of Mahars. After this he went to see the goddess of the touchables. The goddess was generally seen by the untouchables from a window fixed in the eastern wall. But this year a new image of the goddess was installed and hence there was a big gathering in the temple. Sensing that the untouchables have also entered inside the priest started abusing the untouchables. Hearing this Pomha Mahar said to the priest with modesty that sir we take the Darshan (sight) of the goddess without polluting (touching) anybody, hence sir, there is no need of insulting we the poor people. Thus after some exchange of words the priest started beating him and some others also joined him. After beating him sufficiently he was thrown out from the foot steps. There were security people but they also beat him. He was unconscious for two days. His relatives went to the authorities there to lodge complaint but the complaint was not accepted. On 19-4-27 he was taken to the hospital at Chalisgaon where he is showing signs of improvement.

Pomha Mahar wore a dirty shirt and turban on his head a dhoti of a village type. He is illiterate and for the last 10 to 11 months he was doing the village Baluta work on behalf of his mother-in-law in a village Tam bole near Patane. It is doubtful whether he entered the temple. Will our government, which believes in justice, enquire into the matter?

At Mulsi, District Pune, there took place a public meeting of the workers belonging to the untouchable community under the chairmanship of Subhedar R.S.Ghatge at 8.00 o'clock, in the evening on 15-4-27. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

1 Loyalty to the government

2 Expression of gratitude towards the Tata Power Co. Ltd, Mulsi, for donating a small building and furniture for housing a library.

3 At Mahad when the untouchables tried to establish their just rights the touchables committed atrocities on them. The act of caste Hindus was denounced in the meeting.

4 It was urged in the meeting that the people should subscribe to the paper "Bahishkrit Bharat" started under the editorship of Dr.Ambedkar.

5 An appeal was made to help the hostel at Pune started by the Association to help the helpless.

6 A request was made to the government to appoint Shri M.K.Jadhav, B.A. Hon. as Deputy Collector.

District Nasik

Nasik Committee to think on untouchability

At Nasik some people came together on 12-4-27 to ponder over the untouchability problem. The meeting was presided over by Shri N.P.Patankar. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

Resolution No.1 – Those who are regarded as untouchables but are Hindus should be permitted to enter the compound of the temple of Ram at Panchavati, Nasik is the opinion of this meeting.

Resolution No.2 - This meeting congratulates the Nasik Municipality for its resolution that the poor untouchables need not pay the pilgrimage tax. The meeting also requests the Municipality that it should abolish totally the pilgrimage tax in case of untouchables.

Resolution No.3 - Here we request our members in the Bombay legislative Assembly that they should introduce a resolution in the assembly that all those temples or other establishments that receive the financial aid or assistance from the government must be kept open for the entry of the untouchables.

Resolution No.4 - We denounce the atrocities committed by the touchable Hindus on untouchables at Mahad.

On 6th March 1927 the Chambhars of the village

Govindpur and the village Bijanur who had converted themselves to other religion gracefully returned to Hindu religion again. Their number, both men and women, was of about 90. On first day they cleaned their houses and sprinkled the urine of the cow as per Vedic rules and gathered around the sacrificial fire. The women wore the yellow coloured saris and came to the pandal of Yadnya by singing the songs and their joy knew no bounds. Other Hindus who had gathered there were joyous in their mood. Then the ceremony of expiation was performed on them, the slogan in the name of Shrikrishna was raised. Those that returned to Hinduism distributed sweets to all those who had gathered there and the function was over. The credit of organising this function goes to the workers of Arya Samaj at Bijanur.

At Madras the Panchamas(untouchables) have gone to the court against the trustees of the "Panchiappa College" for not admitting their children to the college. The people of Chambhar Community are in a big number in Bharatpur Princely state and they were used till recently as forced labourers but now the ruler of the Princely state has issued a declaration by which the use of forced labour has been made a punishable act.

On 15th May 1927 the Belgaum District Depressed Classes Conference is meeting at Gavanal, Tal. Hukkeri, District Belgaum and Rao Bahadur S.N.Angadi B.A.,L.L.B, M.L.C. is presiding over the conference which is meeting for its 5th annual session.

On 8th May, 1927 the Surat District Depressed Classes Conference is being held at Abrama, Tal. Jalalpur, District Surat.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with PostageRs.3
Single issue for 1½ annas.

Printer
Balkrishna Anant Tate
Associate Press, 91B,
Parel Road, Mumbai 12

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, 20th May, 1927 [Issue 4th

Day-to-day Problems

1: As Mahatmas like Swami Shradhanandji think all the while about the good of the Hindus similarly there are people who always think about the good of the Brahmins. And hence along with the work of organising the Hindus there is also going on the work of organising the Brahmins. Shri Mate of Poona is the leader organising the Brahmins in Maharashtra. To make the Brahmins happy by removing the thorns in their path is his real desire. They do not hesitate to catch hold of some Chambhars and Mangs, if not Mahars, to employ in their work. They are very adept in this kind of work and by this kind of willful work they gain the support of the untouchables and boast that the support of the Brahmins is more helpful for the eradication of untouchability than the support of the Non-Brahmins. One creed and two purposes is not the aim of Shri Mate but two creeds and one purpose is his aim. Had Mate's aim been honest he would not have gone to Mahad to do all kinds of bustles. He had gone there only to show that the blaming of Bhatajis and Shetajis by the untouchables is wrong. We have nothing to do with all that he has written. What, we would like to tell here is that Mate's assertion that the Bhatajis and Shetajis did not participate in the atrocities committed on untouchables at Mahad by the caste Hindus is wrong. The events which we have seen at Mahad with our own eyes, about those events if anybody misinformed the people we will not believe in that version. Not only did Brahmins participate in assaulting the untouchables but whole plot was cooked in the house of a Brahmin pleader. The point that Shri Mate has raised to disprove the argument of the untouchables is this, he says "Shri Bhanudas Kamble himself says that his wife was not beaten then are those who say that she was beaten not frauds? Whether his wife was beaten or not on this we are not prepared to accept the evidence of Shri Bhanudas Kamble. Because the man who ran to the police for his safety leaving his wife and children behind in the camp of the enemies and he even did not enquire about what happened to them is a worthless person to be believed in. if Shri Mate thinks that his information is correct then why did he not listen to those who were physically present and were eyewitnesses to the episode that happened there. On the basis of this story to what extent Mate's information is correct is to be understood by the wise people. On the contrary Shri Mate has brought out the information that the Brahmins did not participate in fighting but before and after fighting they helped untouchables at Mahad and the example that he has given is the help rendered by the president of Mahad Municipality Shri Surba Tipnis. We congratulate Shri Tipnis because he has honestly said that he has not helped the untouchables after this what trick Shri Mate plays is to be seen now.

2: On the water episode at Mahad many newspapers have expressed their opinion in their own way. But we never thought that the 'Kesari' will write anything on this. Where other newspapers had devoted two to four columns there 'Kesari' had written only 50 lines and ended by saying that whatever happened there at Mahad was not good. The same Kesari will write again on Mahad episode was unthinkable because opposition to any work of social reform is its creed of commitment. The Kesari will never indulge in the work that goes against its commitment. And it never gives space to any information that goes against its anti-social reform ideology. It is true that in the light of changed circumstances the outlook of Kesari has also changed to some extent. Nowadays the Kesari does not write against the untouchables' programme because it is worried about the mighty Muslim power that is opposed to the Kesari's demand of Swarajya. The only change in the stand of Kesari here is that it gives space for publishing others' writings on untouchability but it never writes anything on its own. Not only this but the Kesari never writes anything that can encourage the untouchables in their struggle. We very well remember that when we started our paper in January 1920 we sent a copy of our paper to Kesari requesting them to give publicity to our newly born paper in their paper but they ignored our request. Second time we wrote to them requesting them that if they give publicity to our paper we will pay for the publicity. Then, they replied that they have no space in the paper for such publicity. They even did not express their good wishes to our paper in their letter to us nor did they permit us to meet them. We have never cared a flick for their wishes. They wish for the good of the nation but they have never wished the good of the papers started by the non-Brahmins. They always fear that they will go to hell if they say that some Non-Brahmins are superior to Brahmins. How is it possible that they should write about a paper started by an untouchable? We know the mind of Kesari well. It has tried to avoid any contact with Mook Nayak. It perhaps thought that any contact with Mook Nayak would mean like a pollution that occurs when the Brahmin girl marries a boy of Mang caste. With regard to the Bahishkrit Bharat also our experience is the same. We have been sending the issues of Bahishkrit Bharat to Kesari very regularly as professional ethics demands it. However, in its last issue the Kesari has mentioned the acknowledgement in a remote corner of the paper rarely noticeable by the reader. The Kesari is very prompt in giving publicity with its opinion and good wishes wherever a new paper is started. But it has not spared a word by way of its opinion for this paper. This is simply Kesari's egoism and this egoism seems ephemeral otherwise why it should write on the water episode at Mahad?

3: By giving up its old stand the Kesari has expressed its view in its issue of 3-5-27 on the water episode of Mahad. On the basis of the information provided by Shri Mate (teacher) and the members of the Hindu Mahasabha to Kesari the Kesari had published that the fighting that took place at Mahad was participated only by the Non-Brahmins and no Brahmin or Bani participated in that. On the contrary it is Brahmins and Shetajis (merchants) that helped the untouchables at Mahad in their water episode. Therefore, the Kesari has advised that the untouchables should not misunderstand the stand taken by the Brahmins and the Shetajis. The Kesari has therefore, advised that the untouchables should not abuse the Brahmins and the Shetajis unnecessarily. We do not think that in holding the Brahmins and Shetajis responsible for the episode at Mahad we are making any mistake. Admitting the untruth that Brahmins and Shetajis did not participate in the fighting as truth we ask the Kesari that what suggestion the Kesari has made as a remedy? If the Non-Brahmins alone participated in the beating what premonition the Kesari has given to the Non-Brahmins or has it suggested any remedy to end the practice of untouchability? It has certainly not done any of it. While writing on such an important issue the Kesari should have taught a good lesson to the people. The Kesari should have told the people about how they should behave in the situation when man is changing very fast. But we see no liberal idea in the writing of Kesari. On the contrary the Kesari has exhibited only its mean ideas in its writing. The Kesari has played the role of a lawyer of the Brahmins and Shetajis in its writing. It has tried to set untouchables against the Non-Brahmins and the vice-versa. There is no difference between the attitude of the white man towards the Negroes in Africa and the high caste Hindus towards the untouchables in India. Both are not interested in removing untouchability. Both are either directly or indirectly interested in supporting the continuing of the practice of untouchability, since it serves their purpose. If the Indians demand equal rights from the British government in India the English rulers in South Africa immediately point out to the treatment that caste Hindus give to the untouchables in

India. Similarly when the Non-Brahmins demand equal rights the Brahmins immediately point out to them their treatment to the untouchables.

4 : It is well known how the Kesari Group (all Brahmins) often use the treatment given to the untouchables by the Non-Brahmins as their weapon to shut the mouth of the Non-Brahmins. The people like Divekar Shastri tell it to the people that the British have no objection in giving entry to the untouchables in to the temples and allowing them to draw the water from the public wells and tanks, but it is the Non-Brahmins who are opposed to this. If we support the cause of untouchables, who are in an absolute minority in our society, the Non-Brahmins who will be displeased may think of leaving the Hindu religion. If this happens what is the use of supporting the untouchables. the Kesari therefore, argues that they are in reality the supporters of the cause of the untouchables, the real enemies of the untouchables are the Non-Brahmins. Therefore, the real quarrel of the untouchables is with the Non-Brahmins and not with the Brahmins.

5 : They are taking the examples of Non-Brahmins only as their lame excuse. This is so because they do not want to do anything. Those who wish to do something they do it without blaming others. This is clear from an event that took place at Badalapur on the occasion of the celebration of Chhatrapati Shivaji's birthday. It is known to all that there is a conflict between Hindus and Muslims at Badalapur. Under the circumstances the Hindus thought that there should be the unity among the touchable and untouchable Hindus and to bring about this unity Dr.Ambedkar should be invited to preside over the function of the celebration of Shivajayanti. This work was entrusted to Shri Palayshastri of Badalapur. But the problem that arose there was where to arrange for the lodging and boarding facilities for Dr.Ambedkar since no one at Badalapur showed courage to arrange for the stay of Dr.Ambedkar in his own house. Palayshastri showed this courage. He knew that some people will make this as their capital to carry on propaganda against his priesthood. Therefore, he summoned some prominent Non-Brahmins

together and asked them whether they have any objection to his making staying arrangement for Dr.Ambedkar in his own house. The Non-Brahmins who had gathered there said that since the Shastri had no objection why should they have any objection was their reply. Thus an orthodox Brahmin by placing Dr.Ambedkar in his own house and eating together with him showed to the people that if Non-Brahmins are convinced they will not come in the way of removing untouchability.

6 : The Kesari gives no importance to the work of this kind of a poor priest. The Kesari is an important newspaper in Maharashtra. Though at present its position has declined the people value it because of its old position. There are many people who still form their opinion on the opinion of Kesari. If the Kesari stands strongly in support of the priests like Palayshastri we have no doubt that many priests will come forward to convince Non-Brahmins as Palayshastri did. But the Kesari has no courage to do what Palayshastri did. It is really the funny argument of the Kesari that if the dog attacks someone it is not the responsibility of the owner but of the dog. On some occasions we write against the Non-Brahmins this does not mean that we are in doubt about who produced Brahmanism in Non-Brahmins. Wherever there is a quarrel between the untouchables and the Non-Brahmins the Brahmins instead of making the efforts to end the quarrel tell the untouchables that the Non-Brahmins are their real enemies. It is wrong on the part of Brahmins to think that by this kind of propaganda the untouchables will regard them as friends.

7 : However there is one exception to this. There is a leader named Sakat of the Mang community of the untouchables whose policy is always different from the policy of the other leaders of the untouchables. The reason of his policy is quite clear. The other leaders of the untouchables form their policy on their own whereas the policy of Shri Sakat is formed by Shri Mate Master(teacher). Among the Brahmins Shri Mate is one person who wear the garb of a hypocrite pretending to work for the removal of untouchability. Therefore, the opinion of Shri Sakat have been cast in the mould of Shri Mate and his opinions have been of Brahmanical shade. It is because of this

Shri Sakat always says that it is not the Brahmins who are the enemies of the untouchables but it is the Non-Brahmins who are the real enemies of the untouchables. we agree that the Non-Brahmins come in our way but we cannot say honestly that the Brahmins never come in our way. While worshipping his leader Shri Sakat has fully involved in the interest of his leader so much so that he is incapable of seeing where lies the interest of his community. This leader of the Mang caste has written a letter in the newspaper 'Bhala' dated 2-5-27 stating that "The Mahars regard Mangs as lower caste and they do not allow Mangs to take water from their wells and do not allow to go their marriage procession from the roads of their lane. Therefore, the Mahars must treat the Mangs as their equals then they should quarrel with the caste Hindus for equal treatment". There may be some substance in the charge of Shri Sakat against the Mahars but this does not prove that the Mahars right over Chavadar Tank at Mahad and over other public places cannot be established. If a neighbour tries to prevent the entry of the real owner of the house into his house naturally that neighbour will have to teach a lesson worth remembering. It is foolishness on the part of Shri Sakat that he will come in the way of the Mahars' struggle to win the legal right. If Mahars are behaving anywhere with injustice Shri Sakat should definitely make efforts to set them right. Mahar leaders will render all sorts of required help to him is our assurance. But thinking that since the Mahars are not treating the Mangs as their brothers if he joins hands with the Brahmins against the Mahars he must know that his efforts will go futile. Every caste that has been regarded as untouchable caste has every legal right to fetch the water from the Chavadar Tank at Mahad. It is the duty of every untouchable caste to make every effort to secure that right. As a matter of reality, if the Mahars tell the Mangs that this work being the work of every caste why Mahars alone should fight? What is wrong with this? But the Mahars have never said that. On the contrary the Mahars have shed their blood to secure the rights for all the untouchable castes. But how can this leader of the Mangs understand this when he is involved in safeguarding the interests of the Brahmins more than the interests of the Mangs?

Had he been real Mang he would have demanded rights from the Brahmins and not from the Mahars. If there is a blood relation between the Mahars and the Mangs at the most the Mangs will be equal to Mahars but if there is a blood relation between the Mangs and the Bhalakar's caste people (the Brahmins) definitely the Mangs will be higher than the Mahars. Shri Sakat instead of working for upliftment of the Mangs that they should be higher than the Mahars he is opposing the struggle of the untouchables to establish their right to draw the water from public water tanks. In our opinion Shri Sakat speaks for somebody. Shri Sakat is the paid servant of the "Organisation of Eradication of untouchability" founded by the Brahmins of Pune. Had Shri Sakat an independent man he would have exercised his opinion freely and fearlessly on the problem of the Mang community. But it is not possible for him to go against the Brahmin caste when he eats their salt. It is our honest opinion that any individual from among the untouchable caste is maintained and patronised by the Brahmin caste he is not fit to become the leader of the untouchables. And this truly applies to Shri Sakat who regards himself as the leader of the Mang caste. Perhaps Shri Sakat has realised this. Some time back he has written in his paper "Mang Brother" that the leader of the Mangs is yet to come on the scene. We wish that this should become true. Our only wish is that while coming he should bring sufficient enough provision for maintenance otherwise the poor man will have to mortgage (sell) himself for filling his belly.

8 : We feel happy to agree that all are not weak minded people like the editor of the paper "Bhala" (spear). Those two Brahmins, whose letters we have printed in our paper, definitely have the better understanding of the effect that the Mahad episode will make on the Hindu society. Therefore, we respect their views. Their view that the untouchables should make their progress by remaining in Hinduism only is also our view. Similarly their view that if the equality between the touchables and the untouchables is not established the untouchables will leave Hindus is also the view we share.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, Dated 20th May, 1927

Crusade at Mahad and The Responsibility of The Untouchables

In the last two issues we have discussed about the responsibility of both the caste Hindus and the government in matters of water episode at Mahad. In today's issue we have decided to discuss about the responsibility of the untouchables themselves in this regard.

The water tank at Mahad is a public tank. Therefore, a man of any caste can draw water from it. Nobody can object to it. But what happened at Mahad has shown that the touchable Hindus do not tolerate it if the people of untouchable castes like Mahars, Chambhars, Mangs, Dhors etc. draw water from that tank.

Why this happens?

If the untouchables think over this they will come to know that they are considered born unholy in Hindu religion. And if the caste Hindus touched the untouchables they become impure and to remove their impurity they have to take bath without removing their clothes on their body. At some places the practice is that even if the shadow of the untouchable falls on the body of the touchables, the touchables have to take bath to purify themselves from the defilement. Had this idea of purity-impurity reason bound nobody would have objected to it. It is acceptable if it is said that a woman in her menstruation period should not be touched till her menstruation period is over. It can also be acceptable that if anybody is in a condition of impurity his touch can be avoided till he comes out of that condition. But it is difficult to understand why a huge mass of people should be branded as misfit to touch. One argument is that they live in a filthy condition because of which the higher caste people do not touch them. But this argument is also not sustainable because among so called untouchables there are some who lead a clean life as clean as the high caste people but even they too are misfit for touch by the high caste Hindus. Their argument is that they eat the flesh of the dead animals i.e. filthy food hence they brand them as untouchables. this argument is also non tenable because there are many among the so called untouchables who neither eat the flesh nor do they drink any intoxicant and lead an austere life yet they are also misfit for touch according to the high caste Hindus. The Mohamedans eat the flesh of the animals but nobody can muster courage to call the Musalmans untouchables. To sum up in short the untouchability is the whims and fancies of the touchables, is an inevitable conclusion. This whims and fancies of the touchables is sometimes called as custom and regarding this custom as law they impose it on untouchables with force and pressure. A very strange thing in matters of eradicating untouchability programme is that nobody takes cognizance of the views of the untouchables "on the contrary the leaders of the caste Hindus declare it to the untouchables that they should remain as untouchables till the views of the touchables change over the practice of untouchability".

There exists a party in Indian politics which tells the government categorically that it should not impose upon the people the things by force which the people are not prepared to accept. The division of Bengal into two for administrative convenience the people of Bengal opposed this division made by Lord Curzon. Tilak took up the cudgel of opposition and carried it throughout the country against the government. In the end yielding before the pressure of opinion of the people, without making the issue of partition a prestige issue the government annulled partition of Bengal it is a good thing that the government honoured the opinion of the people. Here what pinches us is that the people who ask the government to respect the opinion of the people never bother for the opinion of the untouchables. If , they feel that the government must take people's opinion in their use of power then they must know that the opinion of the untouchables is against the continuing of this inhuman heinous practice of untouchability. Hence the people that practice untouchability should have declared that they are also opposed to the practice of untouchability. As the opinion of the people of Bengal was against the partition of Bengal similarly the opinion of the untouchables is against the practice of untouchability. When they say that the continuity of the partition of Bengal should depend upon the opinion of the Bengal similarly why should they not accept the same ideal that the continuity of the practice of untouchability should depend upon the opinion of the untouchables. But nobody views this problem from this angle. The selfishness has blinded its followers. The untouchables must remember that by and large the caste Hindus are opposed to the eradication of the practice of untouchability.

How to Make Caste Hindus Opinion Favourable?

Is the real problem that the untouchables confront and the efforts must be made to solve this problem. But before finding out the solution to this problem it is necessary to know why the feelings of the untouchables have become like stones over the problem of their rights. In every society there are some men who live on the thinking of others instead of their own thinking. There are innumerable people who live by obeying the order of the father, by taking dictation of the officer and by seeking advice of the friends. These thoughtless men never bother to think whether the order, dictation and the advice given to them is proper or improper, profitable or otherwise. As the thoughtless people live on thoughts of others similarly there are men in every society who think but never practice their thinking. By mere thinking without its practice one need not spend anything for that. Kubera, the god of wealth, also thinks that there should not be economic inequality, Joshi a soothsayer by tradition also thinks that he should be an expert in his profession, similarly the high caste men accept the idea that in order to bring the backward caste people up the preference should be given to them in government services. But, actually when it comes to translate their ideas on reality

Kubera, the god of wealth will hesitate to do that, the Joshi, the soothsayer if he finds there an expert soothsayer from the Mang (an untouchable) community he will hesitate to yield his place for him or a high caste Hindu faces a problem of keeping himself aside to give a priority to a low caste man in government service. If we take into account the nature of their behavior it is easy to understand the problem of untouchables quite clearly. Among the touchables as there are thoughtless people there are also actionless men. The thoughtless people with their blind faith in tradition do not think whether untouchability is right or wrong. The actionless people think that the untouchability is wrong but do not act accordingly.

Thus because of their blind faith in their tradition, the caste Hindus fail to understand our stand. In our opinion if the change is to be brought about in the behaviour of the caste Hindus then the first of all,

We should force the thoughtless men among them to think.

But the thought does not erupt like the volcano. It emerges because of a cause. That our untouchable brothers should not forget that the people among whom awakening is to be created there is a need of producing a cause which can compel them to think. A traveller continues his journey without any problem until he comes across the crossroads. But when he comes to the point of crossroads he puzzles and starts thinking that which road among the crossroads leads him to his destination. It is clear that so long as there is no obstacle on our usual road no one is prepared to think whether the usual traditionally followed road is good or not. When this traditional practice among the thoughtless high caste Hindus is applied it becomes clear that the practice of untouchability continues among the caste Hindus because the untouchables did not oppose it. Had the untouchables opposed it the touchables would have changed their idea long back. Wrong practices are immediately understood by the effect that they produce and hence they cannot continue for long. Sometimes the thread between the action and its effect is of a much distance that we fail to understand what effect actually the action has produced, and the people who resort to action think that there is no need to think about the effect. The same has happened in case of castes and untouchability. The practice of castes and untouchability has never harmed the upper caste Hindus and hence these have remained in vogue. The fire burns the tongue of a man who takes it on his tongue similarly had the untouchables cut the tongue of those who called them untouchables the untouchability would not have continued. Here lies the importance of Mahad episode because it has opposed the practice of untouchability by high castes. Mahad episode has given the bitter experience to the untouchables of the practice of untouchability by the high caste Hindus. Because of this the touchable Hindus will have to think that even though the practice of untouchability has a religious sanction they find it now that its practice is difficult because of the opposition of the untouchables. At Mahad the untouchables did not respond to the atrocities committed by caste Hindus on them. But hereafter it cannot be said that the untouchables will meekly submit to the atrocities of the caste Hindus. Therefore, our untouchable brothers should launch the movement for their self-respect everywhere as they did at Mahad.

This kind of resistance is the only way out

Otherwise the thoughtless people among the touchables will never think that there is anything wrong in the practice of untouchability.

And those among touchables who think about this problem we should strive to make them behave as they think. This is the second important aspect of the programme of the eradication of the untouchability. The remedy to mend those who do not act as they think is bound to be different from the remedy to make think those who do not think. There is much difference in bringing about the change in the public opinion and bringing about the change in the views of the politicians. Where the man's opinion is not related to his selfishness there the means like discussions, debates etc. are sufficient enough to change his opinion. But he will not change his opinion by mere discussion unless his selfishness is likely to suffer a blow.

This is a simple rule we witness in our day to day practical life. Unless this rule is applied to the caste Hindus they will not prepare themselves to act as they think. When we think in this direction we should find out whether we can do anything by which we can give a blow to the self-interest of the high caste Hindus. The touchables are wealthy people whereas the untouchables are poor people. The touchables are in majority whereas untouchables are in minority. The power is in the hands of the touchables whereas untouchables are devoid of it. This would mean that the touchables can go without the help of the untouchables but the untouchables cannot without the help of the touchables. Under the circumstances if the untouchables try to harm the interests of the touchables they make themselves the laughable commodity. Even untouchables will also come to the same conclusion if they think superficially. But our untouchable brothers should remember that this comparison of strength (power) between the touchables and untouchables is misleading. Those who view this problem on the basis of their day to day affairs will never understand the real strength of the untouchables. both touchables and untouchables should know that in some problems the untouchables may be weak but it does not mean that untouchables are weak in every matter. Suppose at this juncture if untouchables forsaking Hinduism embrace the Islam what will be the position of the Hindus? The Hindus must think over this. We know that there are some orthodox Hindus who think that if the untouchables are interested in embracing Islam let them do that. In that case the Hindus will get at least the dominion status if not full freedom from the British. In our opinion these orthodox Hindus who hold the above mentioned views have not considered the problem in depth. They failed to understand that the present day struggle is not the struggle for Swarajya, it is a struggle between the Hindu and the Muslims. In this struggle the population of untouchables is very very important. If the untouchables remain in Hindu fold as Hindus the Aryan culture of the Hindus is going to remain strong. As opposed to this if the untouchables leave Hindu fold and embrace Islam the Arya culture will be reduced weak and the culture of the Yavanas will grow dominant. It is doubtless that nobody else but untouchable community alone has the power to effect this change. The Muslims cannot succeed without us and the Hindus cannot forge ahead disowning the untouchables. This is the situation today. If our untouchable brothers understand this present day position they will definitely know that they are neither helpless nor weak people in India. If the untouchables use this newly available power and declare boycott against the Hindus they can easily bring the caste Hindus to their terms. We therefore sincerely urge our people that without any hesitation they should resort to the programme of non-cooperation with the caste Hindus.

And They Should Not Hesitate In Doing This

On these two suggestions which we have made the caste Hindus would say that we are not wise people in making these two suggestions. Our question to the caste Hindus in blaming us for our two remedies suggested above is that what else can we do if we do not resort to those two remedies? All the untouchables by coming together should state their problem before the caste Hindus is a very old argument of the moderates among the caste Hindu leaders. But what has become clear from the last 25 to 30 years movement of the untouchables is that however the argument of the untouchables is proper; their claim is consistent; their urge is genuine; their demands are just; their claims are evidential; their demands are based on their common consensus and their demands are moderately made but the caste Hindus by their power of brute majority set aside the demands, their urge and goodwill. And on top of it the caste Hindus advise the untouchables that they should not resort to the method of agitation. They contend that the untouchability has perpetuated for thousands of years and there will not be any problem if it perpetuates for one more century. On this we very categorically and unhesitatingly tell them that the

Injustice has no tradition

And the injustice that has continued for long should continue hereafter also can be the thinking only of a rustic man.

Those who feel, like us, for injustice will say that the injustice that has continued till today should not be allowed to continue hereafter also. The untouchability is such a sin that it should end at once without delay is our considered opinion and based on this view of ours if anybody makes any suggestion we are prepared to lend our ears to it. But we are sure that if the untouchability is to be eradicated as early as possible the alternative to our view is not possible. Holding conferences and making big speeches is of no use. To awake people on the question like the untouchability which has perpetuated for the ages together the drastic measure alone will work. Mere paper war is worthless here. Unless the caste Hindus who practice untouchability suffer head injury on the problem of untouchability they will not think of ending this age old practice. The untouchables must prepare themselves to oppose the touchables. We know that over our suggestion 'tit for tat' against the touchables the touchables will become quite annoyed with us. But we do not care for their anger against us. We do not value Hindu religion, we only value humanity. Had we got that humanly treatment in Hinduism we would not have asked our people to boycott Hinduism. The practices in Hinduism are good but we are not like school boys who forget practices and involve only in the teachings of Ideas. And if Hindus recognise that we are also human being like them they will do it not because of any humanity principle in them but because of the dictation of the force of circumstance to them. Whether it is Hindu society or any other society it is bound to be the slave of circumstances. Unless there is a force of circumstances operating on society no society prepares itself for change. Understanding this social tendency Tilak used to say that "The society does not become prepared to accept change so easily it has to be made understand about the practices that come in the way of its progress; then only it readies itself for change". What alternative is there before the untouchables to make the caste Hindus accept their programme of eradicating the untouchability except opposing the caste Hindus until they prepare themselves to accept the programme to end the practice of untouchability? Should the untouchables do only those things which become easily acceptable to the caste Hindus? We have suggested the way which has been suggested by Tilak. The only difference between Tilak and us is that he has suggested the way of resistance to be adopted only in the field of politics whereas we are suggesting it to be practised in social field. People support Tilak for his Non-cooperation against the government whereas we are condemned when we ask the untouchables to resort to Non-cooperation against the caste Hindus who have deprived the humanity of the entire community of the untouchables in this country. We would like to tell our Hindu friends that however well wishers they may be they are basically orthodox Hindus supporters of orthodox Hinduism and the protectors of orthodox Hinduism and hence are misfit to advise us. Because ours is a question of our basic rights, our caste interests and the mental elevation of our community. It is not a question of mere education, knowledge or awakening. If at all you would like to advice anybody you should advice your caste Hindu brothers. The untouchables have come to the stage of determination therefore, caste Hindus should do such thing that by their action they can show sympathy towards the just demands of the untouchables. High caste Hindus and their leaders must know that by adopting deceptive methods towards the struggle of the untouchables they cannot stop their struggle of emancipation which they have launched now. If the caste Hindus try to prolong the slavery of the untouchables only by showing the lip sympathy towards their slavish position against which the untouchables are crying loudly they are making an unpardonable mistake. Whatever one may say we must tell them that we are not prepared to tolerate the untouchability even for a day. There is no question of tolerating it for another one or two generations.

We know that some people will laugh at our idea that the untouchability which has perpetuated for thousands of years, we are struggling to end it at once. But we are not bothered of their laughing. Their worry is that the remedies we have suggested to end the untouchability is such that it will undoubtedly mar their interests. Who will not laugh over such remedies that we have suggested? Of the two weapons boycott and resistance, to be used by us we think that we can keep the boycott on reserve and use the weapon of resistance first. There is no need of using this weapon also for long. The two pieces of iron, if heated until they become completely red it will not take much time to make them one. Similarly when the principle for tit for tat is applied it takes very little time for compromise. In this episode only problem here is that whether our people will,

"Carry this struggle on to its end"?

Here we would like to bring one thing to the notice of our people. In 'Van Parva' of the Mahabharat there is a story that Bhima tells Dharmaraj that "the lost kingdom cannot be regained by begging. Begging is the religion of the Brahmanas and not of Kshatriyas. Therefore, he should give up begging and show his prowess to attain his goal. Nothing will be gained by resorting to mere religious precepts". In our opinion this is the message that our people need at this juncture. By weeping, by begging, and by depending upon the mercy of the others the lost freedom is never regained. It can be won by ones own fighting. The mode of resistance which we have suggested, we know, is difficult. There will be a counter resistance but we should not give up our mode of resistance thinking merely that there will be a counter resistance. The untouchables should be brave enough to face the caste Hindus' counter resistance. Only thing is that our untouchable brothers

Should show their power in this Herculean task.

And if they follow this they will undoubtedly be successful in the movement of their emancipation. Before closing this serial on the water episode at Mahad we should like to issue a note of warning to our untouchable brothers that the ghost of a Brahma chases only the timid. When an offering is made to the god in the sacrifice or a festival it is not the wild animal like the tiger that is used it is only the innocent harmless creatures like the goat or the hen that is used.

Today's untouchables are not timid like the goat or the hen. Their ancestors were lion hearted people. A Mahar named Nagnath defeated the Mughal army and won the fort of Vairatgad for Rajaram and secured the Vatan of Patilki. In the battle of Kharda Sidnak Mahar saved the life of Parsuram Bhau and Sardar Hiroji Patankar made him sit together with other soldiers telling those who objected to his sitting together with them for dinning that bravery has no caste. Rayanak Mahar who like Baji Prabhu at Pavangad protected the entrance passage at Raigad for fifteen days until his death against the British army. Was he of a timid zodiac? Our ancestors fought bravely in the last battle at Koregaon against the Peshwa army and ended the rule of Peshwa. Were they not the people of Zodiac lion? Thus our ancestors reduced that which was in existence into non-existence. We the people who claim our ancestors' legacy will it not be possible for us to resort to the agitation of resistance and make it successful? Untouchables must awake and join the movement which has been newly started to end the age of old slavery of the untouchables.

We sincerely hope that our call to our brothers will not go unheeded.

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Advertisement Rates:
Five annas per line
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second time
Three annas per line third time
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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
PostageRs.3
Single issue for
1½ annas.

Printer
Balkrishna Anant Tate
Associate Press, 91B,
Parel Road, Mumbai 12

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, 3rd June, 1927 [Issue 5th

Day-to-day Problems

1. Once upon a time going to foreign country was forbidden in India. But after experiencing that those who return from the foreign (western) countries after receiving higher education occupy the higher position and hence now- a-days many go to the foreign countries without bothering for the expiation that they have to undergo after returning. Thus many Indian students are spread over the Universities in western countries. Some Indian students studying in Edinburow (German) University have recently published that there they are treated as untouchables. Their entry is forbidden in some boardings. In the University their entry is forbidden to the amusement centers. They have stated that their exclusion and miserable condition that they are experiencing there in Germany cannot be realised by the Indians from such a big distance. These students going abroad generally come from the rich families. Their study and entertainment go together are generally their habits. As a matter of fact one need not have much sympathy for them. Because they are such who support and thrive on the Varna (caste) practices in India.

Varna system in India is their cultural heritage. They never say that the untouchability imposed on the so called untouchables in India is wrong. When this is so then why should they complain when their own Varna (caste) system is imposed on them when they are in Europe? Should they not be happy that the Varna system which they regard as good in India is imposed and practised on them in Europe by the Europeans? If Varna system is good then should they not be happy when it is spreading outside India? Why should the boys who have themselves grown in the social environment of Varnashram should be angry when it is practised on them in Europe? The people who are number one in the system of India should think seriously when they experience that they are not number one everywhere.

2. It seems that it is difficult for Bhalakar to digest the food of thought. Puffing by a small achievement is an usual practice of Bhalakar. It is difficult for a black coloured man to change the colour of the skin merely by the use of turmeric. Bhalakar writes that we are interested in inter-caste dining, inter-caste marriages etc. and these are the social issues based on consent. The public facilities such as the use of public tanks, public roads, public rest houses, Dharmashalas and public temples come under the legal matters. Our urge is that these come under the legal matters and we are entitled to use these by law. If anybody forbids the use of these to the untouchables they have every right to knock the door of the courts in this country is our claim of natural justice.

To enable everybody to enjoy these rights everybody should cooperate with each other. Those who oppose this should quit this country hiding their faces in shame or end their lives by jumping into sea. The difference between individual practices and the law is so clear that it can be easily understood by anybody. But the understanding ability of Bhalakar does not seem to be nearer the ability of even a common man. There is no use of teaching him the lesson of thoughtful ideas. He is like a dog whose tail will never be strait. There is no use of wasting our time and energy in reforming his thinking.

3. In this issue we have printed elsewhere about the news of Mahars and Mangs eating together in Bombay. We do not demand anything more than the political rights from the touchables. We feel it as our duty to tell the untouchables while demanding the political rights you should also think of giving the equal social status in social and family customs and equal status to those who are below you in social status. Therefore, we appreciate the act of Mahar brothers for their eating together with Mang brothers. We condemn the act of those Mahars who are opposing the Mahars and Mangs coming together in social matters. There are some Mang leaders who tell it to the Mangs that they should not eat together with Mahars. This unnecessarily creates enmity between Mahars and Mangs instead of creating socio-political awakening among the Mangs. We very urgently feel in this matter that this kind of attitude among any community must be immediately reformed for the good of them all.

4. Very recently the government of Bombay Presidency has published the report of its Education Department for the year 1924-25. There the caste-wise list of those that have been admitted to the training college for the year 1924-25 is given and it is given below.

	Brahmans and such others	Marathas and such others	untouchables and such others
Pre-Division	123	142	7
Middle Course	219	293	35
Last year Course	9	31	4
Total	351	466	16

In this Presidency the population of the Brahmins and such others is 9% the Maratha and such others 57% and the untouchables and such others 23% if we take the percentage of the caste-wise population into account then the Brahmins and such other castes must have secured 76 seats, the Marathas and such others 510 seats and the untouchables and others 267 seats in the training college. The statistics shows that the Brahmin and Maratha caste have not lost much. But the share of the untouchables seems to have been swallowed by the Brahmins. This is an unfortunate reality. Almost all professions are open to the touchable communities. And they can earn their livelihood in any manner of their choice. But for untouchables there is no other profession open than the teaching profession which is simple, easy and easily available. But here also they are suffering under injustice. Their entry is prevented there also. It is an injustice to the untouchables but from social point view also it is wrong that the Brahmins should enter in this profession in a big way. Teaching class is the class of the charioteers (guides) in the country. They hold the key to the path of education. Therefore who should be the teacher is an important question for the welfare of the society. Such people who regard human beings as lesser than the animals and have contempt for the intellectual ability of others should not be in the charge of education is our considered opinion. It is not a question of teaching merely the alphabets in the school. It is a question of moulding the minds of the students culturally and making them the responsible citizens in society. In other words the school is a factory to produce responsible citizens of the nation. The school is not a hotel where the Brahmin cook is alright but the Brahmin majority among the teachers in the changed environment is not appreciable. It is necessary that the government should think over this problem and admit the candidates from the untouchable community in proportion to their population. Does it mean that justice should not be done even though the reform is not possible?

5. In Kathewad(Gujarat) there is a village named Lathi. There in that village there lives a school teacher by name Jethalal Manasur Parmar. He is an untouchable by caste. Unfortunately that poor creature faced a miserable calamity. And the calamity has been reported in the newspaper recently. On the last 5th of April his wife delivered a child. And immediately after two day she fell seriously ill. At a place called Dhangdhra there was a doctor by name Pranajivan. The teacher approached him but the doctor refused to visit the house of an untouchable and get himself polluted by examining the untouchable patient. Thereafter this teacher used the good

offices of one gentleman called Nagarsheth on whose insistence the doctor agreed to come provided the patient is brought out of the house. Doctor came at 8 o'clock in the evening. He did not touch the patient. Doctor gave the thermometer to a Mohammedan who got the fever measured with the help of the teacher doctor then after seeing the thermometer told the teacher that it is the case of pneumonia and went away without even touching the patient by taking Rs. 200 as his fees. The patient died only after six hours of this event. Who will not be angry after reading this? To what extent a caste Hindu can be merciless towards the untouchables is indicated by this behavior of the doctor. The Hindus who tell the people not to kill cows did not show any mercy towards an untouchable woman who was on deathbed. Such merciless people cannot be found in any community in the world. The reason for this is clear. For Hindus no one is more respectable than the Brahmins and the cows(Gobrahman). The religion which produces this inhuman feelings among the high caste Hindus must perish without this the ignoble feelings among the caste Hindus will never perish. In western countries the medical profession is such a noble one that doctor goes without fail wherever and whenever he is invited to attend the patient. This happens through the medium of peoples' association. In this country those who have become doctors by receiving western medical education have accepted the above mentioned ideal of medical ethics. But some doctors, like one mentioned above donot follow this ethics. They should be dealt with severe punishment. When some good work is expected from some one but he does not do it, there are some clauses in the penal code to deal with such persons. Our view is that why not introduce a new clause in the penal code to punish and reform this kind of wicked people?

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, dated 3rd June, 1927

The Childish Game of Removing Untouchability

The idea of untouchability is not only found in Hinduism. It is found in other religions also. In the Yahudi religion if a man touches the dead body he becomes partially impure. In that religion there was a practice of man eating flesh in the (Yadnya) sacrifice and the man who ate that flesh used to regard others as impure. This was the practice among the Yahudis. Thus the idea of untouchability is found in the practice among the Yahudis. Not only this but for some reason if there is bleeding in the human body that man was regarded as an untouchable. In Parsee religion also the practice of untouchability is found. Among the Parsees the man becomes an untouchable for the following reasons. (1) If the dead body is touched (2) a woman in her menstruation period (3) if any one touches the above mentioned persons. Like Hinduism the idea of untouchability and its practice have been told in Yahudis and Parsee religions but like Hinduism the class of untouchables was not produced in those two religions. In Hinduism the class of untouchables once produced continued in perpetuity whereas it was quite temporary in those two religions. Similarly there was a way out to end the untouchability in those two religions whereas it was not so in Hindu religion. These are the questions worth discussing and we will do it on some other occasion. Today we have decided only to take the account of the efforts made so far to remove the practice of untouchability. And for this it is enough to say that even if the ideas of the untouchability are found in other countries the class of untouchables continuing hereditarily generation after generation is found nowhere in the world.

It cannot be said that no efforts were made to convert the untouchables into touchables in this country. The efforts that were made in this connection can be divided into two divisions according to its chronology; one the efforts made in ancient time and another the efforts made in modern times. In ancient times it is Gautama the Buddha who made the first effort to remove untouchability. Even though in Vedant (Upanishads) the equality was proclaimed the orthodox Hindus did not allow it to become a reality. Equality and love should have been the feature of religion but because of the influence of the orthodox people the violence and the caste inequality became its feature. The incarnation of Buddha took place to condemn the inequality and violence. He preached oneness of all human beings and the end of all sorrow. Not only this but he preached the idea of natural homogeneity among all people. There is one evidence for this preaching. In Hindu religion normally the Brahmin is the priest whereas Buddha allowed all caste men to become Bhikku the priest of the religion. It is well-known that Buddha admitted a scavenger by name Sthavira in his monkhood. When by defeating the Buddhism the Hindu religion was revived naturally the work for untouchables which the Buddha had started relegated to the background. Shankaracharya the founder of Advait(identity of human soul with Universal soul) religion made distinction between practical and spiritual life in human behaviour and human equality aspect was decided to be the part of spiritual aspect of human life.

Thus the practice of human equality in practical life was negativated and nullified by Shankaracharya and his disciples Madhavacharya and Vallabhacharya also followed it sincerely. Thus inequality in society went on increasing in practice with an opposition to it. But Shri Ramanujacharya the founder of a different monistic school did a brilliant work in this regard. Among the Hindus if there was anybody advocating the principle of equality it was Ramanujacharya. He did not make a Brahmin his teacher. A non-Brahmin by name Kanchipurna was his teacher. Not only this but his wife who was orthodox in thinking, insulted his guru by washing the place where he sat and ate his food and Ramanuja drove his wife out of his home and became an ascetic. After becoming an ascetic he began preaching. After winning in debate at Kumbhakonam he went to Tirupati. Here at Tirupati during his stay he had a debate with a Chandal (untouchable) woman and in this debate he came to know that Chandal woman was much advanced in her intellectual ability. Ramanuja openly declared before the public that, "ye, Chandal woman, you are holier than myself". He immediately admitted her in his sect and got her image prepared and installed it in the temple. Her image is still there in that temple and the people worship her image even today, with much devotion. Another person by name Dhanurdas was an ardent disciple of Ramanuja and he was an untouchable. Ramanuja loved him so much that while going to the river for taking bath in the morning he used to place his hand on the shoulder of his Brahmin disciple named Dasarathi but while returning after bath he used to place his hand on the shoulder of Dhanurdas instead of Dasarathi. By such examples Ramanuja wanted to tell the people that he did not believe in untouchability because it is wrong and others should not practice it since it is wrong. Ramanujacharya built a temple of Narayana on Yadavgiri hill he made a provision there for untouchables' entry into the temple all were permitted to take bath in the tank that was constructed in the front of the temple and all were permitted to enter the temple and worship the deity. This shows how Ramanuja was an apostle of equality and brotherhood of all.

Acharya had established seven hundred hermitages (Maths) to propagate the ideas of his sect but after him the work of the amelioration of the untouchables for which he had worked strenuously did not progress much. Fifth Acharya of the sect after Ramanujacharya was Ramanand who also did some good work for the cause of untouchables. he carried on his work of removing untouchability with the help of his twelve disciples who were all belonged to the low caste communities. Like Ramanujacharya Chaitanya also did the similar efforts. Not only this but it can be said that Chaitanya was a step advanced in his work. As Ramanujacharya built the temples at various places and made them open for the entry of untouchables, similarly Chaitanya Guru also made the temple of Jaganath open to the untouchables. Even today it is openly treated there that in the temple of god all are equal. Today if there is any place where all caste men throng together and enter the temple it is the Jagnnath of Puri. Unfortunately these efforts have not yielded the fruits sufficiently. As Buddhist tendency went on weakening by opposition to it, the caste preachers went on growing. Four Varnas went on increasing into the hundreds of castes. Relegating to the background the message of Buddha's brotherhood there formed numerous sub-castes. The caste notions grew into so much enormity that when in 16th century the saints attacked caste system with their axe, their axe did not disturb even a leaf of that tree(caste).

The real work against the practice of untouchability began only in modern times. The first reformer of this age was Raja-Ram Mohan Rai. It is true that the practices like Sati (burning the wife of a deceased husband on his funeral pyre) were prohibited because of his efforts. However it is true that his emphasis was on religious reform rather than the social reform. So long as there was going on a controversy over what was right and what was wrong in the religious practices a very little attention was paid to the subject of social reform. When political movements started the social problems also began coming to the surface. There was a party which used to issue warning to the political minded people that unless the issues of social reform are taken up the movement for political freedom will lead to mere fatality. Believers in mere political movement founded the Indian National Congress and those who gave equal importance to social reform founded side by side the association called social conference. Between these two parties the controversy over the issue whether political reform first or social reform first was going on for some years. In this controversy had the party believing in social reform first succeeded the solution to the social problem like the eradication of untouchability would have been easier. But in this quarrel those who believed that social reform must precede the political reform were defeated. However it must be remembered that their defeat does not prove that they were wrong. The real cause of the defeat of this party was that it wrongly viewed the caste problems as social problems. Social problems emerge due to many reasons. Some arise due to bad regional practices and they originate in family or race and these prevail in particular family or race only but these problems slowly become the problems of the people. The reformers of the social conference did not understand this difference. Therefore, they failing to understand the problems like caste distinctions and distinctions between touchables and untouchables which are all inclusive social problems harped upon the problem of the widows, widow remarriage, child marriage making these family and clan problems the war field for the reforms. Though these problems were also social problems these never stopped as hurdles in the path of political demands. Hence the visionaries like late Telang did not like the programme of reforms that led the social conference. Had the reform party of the social conference taken up the caste problem and the problem of untouchability nobody would have guts to nonplus them but their vision of social reform did not go beyond some problems of their families and clanmen. They wasted their whole time in keeping their own caste men purified. And they went away keeping the caste problem and the problem of untouchability untouched.

In place of these modern reformers of social conference there have emerged a new social reformers. Old reformers had their social conference and now the new reformers have their Hindu Maha Sabha. The originating place of Hindu Maha Sabha was the original place of the Aryas- Punjab. In 1909 when the Muslims separated themselves from the congress organisation and organising the Muslims formed their own party- Muslim League. To counter this Muslim party an organisation called Punjab Hindu Sabha was established and for four years from its foundation initially Panjab remained the sphere of its activity. But in 1913 it crossed the borders of Panjab and organised its conference at Ambala and there it passed a resolution that in 1915 its conference should be held at Haridwar to discuss the problems of entire Hindu population. Accordingly the conference met under the

Chairmanship of Munindrachandra Nandi and in this conference an organisation called All India Hindu Sabha was established in place of Panjab Hindu Sabha. The aim of this Sabha was to unite and integrate all the Hindus together. The conference was presided over by Maharaj Kasim Bazar, there were 13 Vice Presidents among whom three were Shankaracharyas. Lala Sukhvir Sing was the secretary and there were four additional secretaries and 50 consultants from various provinces. It was thought that the organisation established in this big way would successfully perform its job. But this organisation did not do anything substantial beyond struggling to get the stream of the river Ganga upto Haridwar by removing the obstruction from the British administration by stopping the killing of the cows by the Muslims, getting the political rights of the Hindus in proportion to their population etc. It could not take up any programme of social reform worth the name. However, it had once issued a circular letter to know the public opinion regarding the eradication of the untouchability, but when it had opposed the Patel bill on intercaste marriages its views on caste eradication and eradication of untouchability could be well understood. In 1918 this Sabha had met for its conference at Delhi when congress had also met there for its annual session. The Sabha was presided over by Rajarampal Singh. This was its fifth and last sabha. Here also it did nothing except making speeches. Opposition to caste-wise representation; prohibition of killing cows by law; bringing back the Sanskrit books and historically valuable artifacts from Europe as a reward of helping the Britain militarily against Germany in war were their requests to the government and they had the critical view towards the government for neglecting the promotion of Ayurvedic medicine. And the next two years after 1918 they engaged themselves in Khalifat movement and in opposing the Rowlatt Act. After this when they met in 1921 at Haridwar for their conference there they by uniting all their branches of the sabha formed what is known as Hindu Maha Sabha.

After holding some minor conferences here and there they ultimately met for a bigger conference at Banaras in the month of August in 1923. Here in this conference it was decided over the remedies of the various problems of the Hindu society. The Indian National Congress did not take the programme of social reform and hence the untouchable communities were very unhappy over that. The congress had passed the resolution against the practice of untouchability in its annual conference at Calcutta in December 1917 but nobody was happy because it did not do anything except passing that resolution. But after 1923 the people ignored the congress as they were happy that the work was to be taken up by the Hindu Sabha. The people became carefree since the eminent leader like Madan Mohan Malvia, the leading figure in the Hindu Maha Sabha declared that the work of the eradication of the untouchability would be the work of Hindu Maha Sabha. People felt that the work of removal of untouchability will be definitely done by this newly founded Hindu Maha Sabha undoubtedly. But it seems that the Hindu Maha Sabha also went the same way by which the Indian National Congress went. Hindu Maha Sabha did nothing except its work in words. This is not our charge against the Hindu Maha Sabha but it is the charge of Shri Swami Shraddhanandaji. After noticing the carelessness of the Hindu Maha Sabha towards the work of the amelioration of the untouchables he resigned from there. In his resignation letter he has categorically stated that Hindu Maha Sabha is not eager in implementing its resolution on untouchability. Not only this but those who were interested in implementing the resolution in the sabha, others come in their way and hindered the work. Is it not a tragedy against our hope? It is excusable if the people in older days did not do the work against the practice of untouchability. They merely harped upon their broad idea of humanity but in reality did not do anything against the practice of untouchability. They merely opposed it in their teaching. The reformers of our own age had some urge towards the problem of untouchables but they had no determination to end the practice of untouchability. Their fear was that the problem of untouchability will come in the way of Swarajya (self rule). They had to admit that their urge for Swarajya was not genuine if they had not involved in solving the problem of untouchability. But they are ashamed of taking that stand since there are people who take that stand openly.

Reformers prior to Hindu Maha Sabha did not feel the urgency of doing something to solve the problem of untouchability. Hindu Maha Sabha was founded to work against the calamities that the Hinduism is facing. The leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha were well aware that there is no other way except forging unity among the Hindus. But the tragedy is that the riots that took place between Hindus and Muslims of Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Kohat, Sholapur, Gulbarga etc. there the Hindus suffered reverses and the Hindu Maha Sabha did nothing except seeing the events with its own open eyes. No prestige, no position, no strength; all has gone even then the wisdom is not dawning on these men to embrace their own men who call themselves as Hindus but Hindus regard them as untouchables. The Hindus take pride in the fact that all other ancient and medieval nations died out but their nation has survived till to date because of their Varnashrama Dharma. It is true that they have survived but have they ever thought of how they have survived?

There are many ways of living. All the ways of living are not worth living. When the enemies attack repulsing them back and keep the nation safe is one way of living. Surrender to the enemy and live the life as per the conditions that enemy lays down is another way of living. Man lives in both these ways. But there is a world of difference in the modes of living of these two. One is a humanly living and other is insect like living. But what is the use of telling these religiously mad people the living mode of a brave man? Those who have laid the life like the life of insects in the hell for thousands of years what consideration will they have of human life? The evil practices like untouchability have grown on the body of Hinduism and therefore the form and appearance of Hinduism has become ugly and nauseating. Not only this but the injustice in the form of untouchability has grown like the growth of heap of dirt and it is weakening the position of Hinduism.

Hindu Maha Sabha is led by the leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia who are imbibed with the spirit of Brahmanism. So long as Hindu Maha Sabha is under the influence of such leaders it is futile to expect anything from it. We are not unhappy over the docility of Hindu Maha Sabha because we never expected any tangible work from it. We had never felt that Hindu Maha Sabha will do anything for the eradication of untouchability but we had never thought that it would do anything to strengthen the practice of untouchability. However such a thing is taking place in Bombay (Matunga). Hindu Maha Sabha there has declared that it will construct a temple in Bombay-Matunga. They have requested the people to help financially by donating to construct the temple. There are thousands of temples in Bombay and anybody will feel unhappy over the Hindu Maha Sabha's efforts to do the same again. But in their appeal letter they have explained the purpose of constructing the temple and after reading about the purpose anybody will think that whether sabha is making efforts to unite the Hindus or divide them further. In the appeal letter they have stated that the untouchables are not allowed to enter the existing temples in Bombay but the new temple that the Sabha is planning to construct at Matunga will be open for all including the untouchables.

New Temples of New Religion

Is an excellent idea. If this new idea of a new temple is coming up as a way to eradicate untouchability it is a mockery of the problem of the removal of untouchability. In whose mind this new idea is born is one who does not know why the untouchables seriously urge for their entry into the temples; or he must be feeling that the new temples will solve the problem of untouchability. The untouchables are making efforts to enter the temple not because they are mad about the worship of the deity in the temple. There are intellectuals among the untouchables who while in search of the philosophy of life can postmortem the Brahmanical legendary stories (Puran Katha) of the Brahmanical priests. Therefore, it is not possible that the untouchables will waste their energy in preparing their men to embrace the gods and goddesses of the mythical stories. If the upper caste men are thinking this way it is their ignorance. They are trying to seek the entry to the temples because by that act the untouchables would like to declare that they are equal with the Hindus. Those who are interested in helping the untouchables they should support them in this matter, instead of making efforts to build the new temples. Had the untouchability disappeared by new temples the untouchable localities which have survived for thousands of years would not have been there in today's India. This is all a childish game. It is good that they have not suggested separate roads, separate trains, separate boats, separate motors, separate courts etc.

The proponents of the new temples think that both touchables and untouchables will enter the temple without any prohibition and mix together. This mixing in association of both touchables and untouchables will help reducing the intensity of caste feelings is their view. But question to these wise men is that what is the guarantee that the touchable Hindus will enter the temple when untouchables are there. Had there no temples in the entire city of Bombay perhaps at least some Hindus, out of compulsion, might have visited the temple of Hindu Maha Sabha. This can be the presumption. In the city of Bombay there are more temples than the houses, when this is the situation why should the caste Hindus enter polluted temple of Hindu Maha Sabha. Therefore, in our opinion the idea of new temple is the foolish exercise on the part of its initiators.

There is a Vitthal-Rukmai temple[§] of Chambhars (cobblers) in Mumbai and this temple is open for all to worship the deities. The temple is existing for the last 20 years and we have so far not Heard from any sources that any caste Hindu has ever visited the temple. However by building separate temple Chambhars (Cobblers) did not become touchables but the separate temple made Vithoba and his wife Rukmabai* the untouchables. We have no doubt in our mind that the same thing will happen to the temple to be constructed by the Hindu Maha Sabha in Mumbai.

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*These are famous deities of Bhakti cult at Pandharpur in Maharashtra.

Superficially it may appear that the separate temple will unite Hindus but its ultimate result will be the keeping them separated as before. Therefore, the separate temple is not the remedy over the ills of untouchability. The remedy for the removal of untouchability is the throwing open all the temples for all including the untouchables.

Other Ways Are Wrong.

But this suggestion will never be acceptable to the Hindu Maha Sabha. Hindu Maha Sabha is the revised edition of the Brahmanical priestly class. The same Brahmanical priestly class which has worked hard to maintain cultural differences, Varna differences and religious differences among the Hindus. Not only this but those who worked against these differences were branded as anti-religion and were excommunicated by the brhamnanical priests. It is quite appropriate that such a priestly class should think of separate temples for the untouchables. Untouchables know their shrewdness in building the separate temples for untouchables. They will not be swayed away by such Brahmanical tactics. Our warning to these priests is that let there be a delay in entry to the temple. Sooner or later a day will come that these closed temples will become open for us. We do not want separate temples merely because it will take time to throw open the existing temples for the untouchables. Your one temple will remain open for us whereas other temples will always remain closed to us and with it there remains the practice of untouchability as before.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
Postage Rs.3 single
issue 2 annas.
Joint issue 3 annas
per issue

Printer:
Mangesh Narayan Kulkarni
Karnatak Press, 318 A
Thakurdwar Mumbai

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st, Friday, dated 1st July, 1927 [Issue 6th & 7th

Day Today Problems

1. Madan Mohan Malvia leaving his home state on health ground is staying in Bangalore along with Mahatma Gandhi. He had stayed in Mysore for some days before going to Bangalore. While he was in Mysore he had an occasion to have a debate with learned Shastri Pandits over the issue of eradicating untouchability. It has been reported in the newspaper that in the debate Malvia emerged victorious. The defeated Shastri Pandits instead of keeping quiet have started the work for removal of untouchability seriously and after reading this the people must be saying Bravo- Malviaji. But to prove Malvia's hypocrisy his near relative Laxmikant Bhatt brought the news of an event. The daughter of Laxmikant Bhatt was married to the son of Malvia. Shri Bhatt has another daughter. But due to his poor family condition Shri Bhatt had to give his second daughter to a Barrister of another caste in marriage. Shri Bhatt must have thought that in this matter his reformer relative Pandit Malvia will help him. But what happened was quite opposite of his expectation. When this inter-caste marriage took place there took place a meeting

under the Chairmanship of Pandit Malvia on the bank of river Ganga. In this meeting the decision of excommunicating the Bhatt family was taken and it was announced thus. And all family relations were severed by his caste-men from his family. Bhatt's mother took shock and died immediately after this event. On this the caste Sabha was summoned and it met in Malvia's house. There it was resolved in the meeting that he who will go to the cemetery for the cremation should be socially boycotted. Therefore, none turned up from Bhatt's caste for cremation. After this Shri Bhatt sent a word to Malvia to send his daughter, who was Malvia's daughter -in-law to his home to see her mother who was ill. But Pandit Malvia who sheds tears for the untouchables did not melt over this humanitarian cause. Not only this but Shri Kapildev Malvia and Satyanarayan Malvia who were in contact with Bhatt family were also ex-communicated. After seeing all this the Bhatt family is in utter confusion and they have stated that Malvia should declare once for all what is his opinion because till today what we have witnessed is that he speaks one thing and does another thing. Lala Lajapat Rai was once famous as an extremist both in thought and action. But now if anybody has closely witnessed his views and work will easily come to the conclusion that in recent days he is not very serious about the work of social reform. It is well-known that he has recently stated that undue importance is unnecessarily being given to social reforms now-a-days, and the Non-Brahmin movement is anti-national". But even a man of such view is also feeling surprised over the recent behaviour of Madan Mohan Malvia. Rai also has opined that if Malvia's behaviour with Bhatt is real then his suggestion to Malvia is that he should disassociate himself from Hindu Maha Sabha as early as possible. In fact when Malvia resigned from the body of Hindu Maha Sabha the members instead of accepting his resignation should have removed him from there. The members of Hindu Maha Sabha have no courage to say that Malvia by his harmful behaviour crippled the work of Hindu Maha Sabha and tarnished its image. Hindu Maha Sabha should get relieved of him at the earliest.

2. Some people may argue that Pandit Malvia is opposed to the untouchability though not to the caste and his services should be utilised to that extent instead of asking for his removal from the Hindu Maha Sabha. But we do not think that we are in the wrong in asking the Sabha to remove him from there. It is true that the caste distinctions and the distinctions between touchability and untouchability are the two sides of the same coin though behind these both there is a different human feeling the feeling for the non-Brahmins is of lower type whereas the feeling for the untouchables is dirt indicating. This is the gulf between caste distinctions and between touchability and untouchability. Therefore, it may be possible to forget the caste distinctions sometimes but it is difficult to forget separation between touchables and untouchables. when this is the situation we find it difficult to believe that Malvia when he is not prepared to work against the castes he will work for the removal of untouchability believing in the change of his heart. The caste differences are easier to remove than the removal of untouchability. The man who cannot cover (walk) smaller distance how can he cover the bigger distance. The man who wishes to cross the river must first cross the lake.

3. The view that casteism cannot be broken without inter-caste marriages is also acceptable to those who think that the caste system must go. But as a starting programme it should be started with the programme of inter-dining. However it can be noted that among the Brahmins there are many sub-castes among whom inter-dining takes place and it is going on since many years in the past. But this has not destroyed the feeling of caste differences among them. On this it is clear that mere inter-dining has failed to destroy the caste feeling among the persons who involve in it.

By this it is clear that mere inter-dining does not help in reducing the intensity of caste system because the issue of inter-caste marriages remain watering the poisonous tree of caste to grow. Casteism has grown stronger for years together like the growth of cactus tree. If this tree is to be destroyed it is no use of cutting merely its branches it should be uprooted completely.

The entire caste system stands on the prohibition of inter-caste marriages and not on the inter-dining among the castes. Hence in order to destroy the entire edifice of the caste the prohibition imposed on the inter-caste marriage must be attacked and destroyed uncompromisingly.

4. The serious quarrel that is going on between the Hindus and Muslims is a big problem for many to find out the solution to stop it. But none can give guarantee about the solution that can solve the problem. But when we think that why this problem should become so much complicated we will know that to understand this we must understand the nature of the problem and the relation between Hindus and Muslims. When we think about the relation between the two communities we will know that the relation is something like caste differences. Prohibition of inter-dining and inter-caste marriages are the signs of castes among the Hindus. As inter-dining and inter-caste marriages do not take place between the Brahmins and the Mahars similarly these do not take place between the Brahmins and Muslims and it must be admitted that if the Brahman and Maratha is a caste distinction, similarly the Hindu and Muslim is also a caste distinction. Once we accept this premise it would not be difficult to find out the solution over the tussle that is going on between Hindus and Muslims. Because the remedy that has been suggested to end the caste distinction among the Hindus same can be applied to end the tussle between Hindus and Muslims. To remove caste differences among the Hindus the inter-caste marriages are suggested the same suggestion can be made to end the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims. This is not merely our opinion, it is the opinion of Ravindranath Tagore also. In the light of this view the marriage between Miss Malinibai Panandikar B.A., B.T. a Hindu girl and Gulab Khan Basuruddin Khan B.A., B.T. a mussalman gentleman is very important. Miss Malinibai comes from the Saraswat community of Brahmin caste and she is a grand daughter of Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The courage which Malinibai has shown in this regard is admirable. She is the daughter of a couple which had done re-marriage. The marriage of her father and mother was

the first remarriage in Maharashtra. As newly born fish needs no lesson in swimming similarly Malinibai needs no lesson in social reforms. Had it not been so Malinibai would not have taken such a high jump in the field of social reform.

5. Advantages of mixed marriages between Hindus and Muslims do not confine to the area of removing social distinctions between the Hindus and the Muslims. This aspect has its own importance to the Hindu Maha Sabha's idea of purification (shuddhikaran). There has grown a group among the Hindus which ridicules Malinibai for her joining the Muslims. This party thinks that whether it is the regular marriage or the love marriage, groom and his family is bound to have an upper hand in the behaviour of the bride in the family. Under the circumstances after marriage if Gulabkhan puts the condition that Malinibai should not wear Hindu dress, should not apply Kumkum(vermilion) what next is their doubt. But our question is, is it possible always that the party of the bride-groom should have the upper hand in this matter? Among the Hindus men often say that they do not have objection to some social reforms but they cannot implement them because of the consternation of their wives-women in the house. Therefore, we say that Malinibai instead of converting her to Gulabkhan's Muslim practices who knows that she may convert him to her customary practices. This is not merely our logic but there are historical examples of it. This is not the first marriage between Hindus and Muslims. Many examples can be given of Mughal Badshah's marrying the Hindu women. But after those inter-religious marriages it can be said that, Muslim emperors themselves became Hindus in their family behaviours. Why should not be the similar result of the marriage between Gulab Khan and Malinibai? If this happens then it will be like that Malinibai instead of becoming a Muslim she has brought a Muslim to the Hindus. The result will depend upon the Hindu attitude. If they wel-come Gulab khan among them and behave cordially with him he will go well with them. if they try to harass him then Malinibai will have to be in the Muslim fold knowingly or unknowingly. If this way unfortunately the Islamisation of Malinibai takes place

it will not be her fault. It will be the fault of the Hindus. Whatever it is, Malinibai has done the work of Hindu Maha Sabha by hoisting the Hindu flag among the Muslims and has done the admirable work for the Hindus.

6. It would not be surprising if anybody thinks that the young lady who showed such a rare courage must be the daughter of a radical reformer. But we have to say it with great disappointment that Shri Panandikar, her father is a very timid man. In the newspaper "Various Views" of 22nd May, his views on the eradication of untouchability have been published. One can read his views with great disappointment. Shri Panandikar writes, (1) The belief of the untouchables that their untouchability is approved in the religious books must be given up by them (2) The untouchables must do away with the untouchability that they practice among themselves or within them. (3) Whatever rights they get they should enjoy them gratefully without publicising. (4) They must develop the habit of keeping themselves clean and using clean clothes. (5) They must take advantage of good education. For this purpose separate schools should be established. They must give up their insistence that they must get education with others in general schools because this will create opposition from the upper castes. It seems that untouchability will vanish slowly if the reforms are brought about this way slowly and gradually. After reading the opinion of Shri Panandikar one will think that there is no difference between his opinion and the opinion of poonaites like Shri Bhopatkar, Shri Mate, the editor of Kesari and others from that group. Shri Panandikar must have read their literature in their newspaper. In their literature there is nothing new. We have already refuted their view in our newspaper Bahishkrit Bharat. The surprising thing is the suggestion of Shri Parandikar that the untouchables should remain satisfied with whatever concessions that high caste Hindus grant to them instead of quarreling with the caste Hindus. Superficially one will think that this is a very good suggestion born out of earnestness. But when any rational minded man studies Shri Parandikar's suggestion he will think that in reality there is no difference between him and the

members of the Hindu Maha Sabha. His advice that the untouchables should not hurt the religious feelings of the high caste Hindus has wearied our ears by its constant repeat. Our question is why this man has done remarriage if he cares so much for the religious feelings of others? Is not the subject of re-marriage with a widow is not the subject of hurting the religious feelings of the people? Have the people declared that his re-marriage with a widow is approved by them? On one hand this reformer tells the untouchables that they should forget that they are untouchables and on the other hand he asks them that they should not insist that they should be admitted to the same school where touchable boys and girls also study. How much urge such a man has in him about the eradication of untouchability is a matter of grave doubt. Go there but do not come here, do that but do not do this etc. are his suggestions to the untouchables. such a man is not a genuine reformer he is a reformer in name only. Such people wander about in society as reformers but in reality they are deceivers of the people.

7. Court litigation on Mahad episode was going on before the District Magistrate Mr. Hood at Alibaug and the court gave its verdict on 21st June. There out of nine accused persons 4 were set free and remaining five were punished with rigorous imprisonment for four months under penal code 147, 149, 451 and 323. It is understood that these culprits are going in appeal to the higher court. The decision of the court indicates that untouchables have been victorious. However we are told that many untouchables are not happy over the court decision. Here our question to those unhappy men is if there was a Peshwa rule who would have been punished? We are sure that under Peshwai the accused would have been declared as crusaders and we including Dr.Ambedkar, would have been trampled under the feet of an elephant. Instead of this happening the goddess of justice under the British rule has punished severely five out of 9 accused. This is not a small thing.

8. In the newspaper Swadharma "ones own religion", of June there is an editorial on the water episode at Mahad. This episode took place some 2½ to 3 months back and we had our

own doubt that anybody will write on that now. We are happy that even though it is late still the editor of 'Swadharm' thought it proper to write on the episode. Because the paper is the mouthpiece of the hermitage of Dr.Kurtkoti. Dr.Kurtkoti is the Jagat-Guru (high priest) of Hindu religion. If his paper does not deal with the Mahad episode then which paper is more qualified to do that?

It was naturally expected that a discussion done after such a delay should be fair and conclusive. But the category of discussion of the editor of 'Swadharma' seems to be quite different. On the riot that took place at Mahad many papers wrote and supplied information on that but the information published by Hindu Maha Sabha was taken by us as authentic because people who have been working in whole life for the upliftment of untouchables went there to Mahad and collected the information and published it through their organisation which has been working for the cause of the untouchables. in fact the information supplied by Barr. Ambedkar should have been taken as reliable account and we should have done the same thing but Editor's information seems contrary to reality and while giving that information he has shown the easily noticeable caste hatred, therefore that was not acceptable to us. It is not surprising for us when the editor of 'Swadharm' does not take our information as acceptable. It is our usual experience that the caste system has killed the sense of justice among the Hindus. After the beginning of Brahman-Non-Brahman controversy the justice in the court will take the side of his caste is the fear that has overtaken the litigating parties on the court in this province. Therefore, the applications are often made to the high court by the litigants that their cases should be transferred from native(Hindu) judges to the judges of other religions. The editor of Swadharm has also committed the same mistake in accepting the Shri Mate's version on Mahad episode. Whether this kind of partiality befits the editor of Shankaracharya's news is to be pondered over by the editor himself. Because we have already proved in our last issue how Shri Mate's information on Mahad episode is wrong and partial. In that paper we had also shown how Shri Mate had produced wrong information about Shri Tipnis, the chairman of the Mahad Municipality.

Today we are proving another falsity of Shri Mate. Mate has stated in his information that the untouchables saying that a woman has been insulted by beating her is wrong because he says that he met her relatives who stated that that information is wrong. How Mate is wrong can be seen by reading a letter of that woman's husband printed in other day's Bahishkrit Bharat. How shameful it is that a man like Mate who is a school teacher also should sell the fraud as truth without bothering for any norms of ethics. Had this allegation against Mate was wrong he would have come forward to refute it. Since he has kept mum over it, it shows his guilt. Mate's answer over this is that he has produced many students from untouchable community and they can answer Dr.Ambedkar befittingly. Who are these untouchable students that he has produced and how many are they we do not know. We know only one such student and he is Pandurang Nathuji Rajbhose. But Shri Rajbhose has attacked him instead of praising him and this is revealed by his letter written in 'Dnyan Prakash' of 8th may. Let us hope that all his students do not go against him.

9. the editor of 'Swadharm' writes that Shri Mate has spent his whole life for the cause of untouchables. May be. There was no need for us to write about Mate prior to this occasion. But when the editor of 'Swadharm' has raised this issue we felt it as necessary to write on this. Shri Mate and his organisation are figuring very much in news now a days among the people that work for the upliftment of the untouchables. Any work that he does is done on behalf of his organisation. The speciality of his Mandal (organisation) is, if any work is to be done it is to be decided upon first by the secretary and then the president has to sign it and publish it in the name of the Mandal (Untouchability Eradication Mandal) and then show it to the people that the opinion of this Mandal means the opinion of the untouchables. The real fact is that this Mandal has neither any registered member nor it has any subscribers. It has a secretary, and a chairman, and these two are dancing.

The editor of 'Swadharm' is dancing in the name of Mate but he never reveals what work Mate has done for the untouchables. whether Mate has promoted any inter-caste marriage or he has promoted any inter-dining programme? Has it been clear to the public what Mate has done then there would have been no cause to doubt his sincerity of work. The information we have about Mate is that he is a very conservative minded man. He has reserved a special room in his house where he receives untouchables and meets them. He never allows untouchables to enter in any other room of his house. If any touchable comes to meet him when he is with untouchables in the room reserved for them he goes out of this room to meet the touchable visitors in another room.

If this information is proved wrong we will take our words back. We have gathered this information from an untouchable who often goes to Shri Mate. It is likely that this information may be true. We have spoken quite clearly about Mate because we have to find out who is honest and who is dishonest in the work of the eradication of untouchability. We have decided to be with those who are honest and disown those who are dishonest. We have already revealed it why Mate is pretending to be the worker for the cause of untouchables. Our opinion about Mate is not absolutely baseless is proved by the report of the conference that Mate had organised for Matang community people recently. It is known that the innocent people fall prey to the wickedness of the shrewd people. This way some sections among the untouchables are falling prey to the high caste Hindus. After Matang (leather workers community) Conference newspaper 'Kesari' of Tilak has done clapping by stating that the division has taken place among the untouchables. Here our suggestion to 'Kesari' is that instead of celebrating the demonic joy over the rift it should enquire what was the cause of the division. We are sure that if the caste Hindus do not dabble into the affairs of the untouchables the untouchables will always remain united. By distorting the facts by converting meaningful into meaningless and by spoiling the minds of each other the division among the people can be brought about. Therefore, our sincere appeal to Shri

Mate is that he should leave the untouchables to their fate alone. Right or wrong let the untouchables lead their life struggle by themselves. If your love towards untouchables is fictitious leaving them to their fate will be your love for truthfulness. A child however lovable if it is constantly carried on the shoulder it becomes weak. A child when it is made to walk it will find it difficult initially but ultimately it will learn to walk and run. When this happens after some days Mr. Sakat (Matang leader) may become the President of the conference. Otherwise it will so happen that it will be the conference of the community of Shri Sakat (Matang) and the president will be Shri Mate (Brahmin). This will go on perpetually.

10. How the touchables behave mercilessly while behaving with the untouchables has been narrated in a pathetic story recently. In the princely state of Gwalior and Indore there is an untouchable community called Balhai. During the Holi festival (it is a Hindu festival that comes usually in March) the eyes of the women of untouchable caste are tied and the women are taken in procession in the village and while the women are in the procession the dirt is thrown on those untouchable women by touchables. These women after suffering injury by mud throwing urge the people for relieving them but people continue for making fun of them. This mud and dirt throwing is called as 'Zumbara Bigar'. This custom is regarded as the right of the caste Hindus in that area. Some social awakening is dawning on these Balhai people now-a-days. This year these Balhai people refused to participate in this function as it is the insult and harassment of their women and hence it is intolerable to them. The touchables by becoming angry with the Balhais have started harassing them. At some places they are beaten inhumanly, their water supply has been stopped, their employment as daily workers has been stopped, and in some places their houses have been burnt. The Balhais have been harassed so much that some of them left their homes in their villages and migrated to some other places. In this harassment not only the people joined in it but also the officials of the princely states. This kind of event has also taken place in Malabar state. In Malabar state there a custom that the

untouchable women should wear only the brass made ornaments. In the month of May last the untouchables of that area summoned a meeting. In the meeting it was resolved that in Malabar the untouchables by giving up the practice of wearing the brass made ornaments should start wearing the gold made ornaments. As an auspicious beginning some women were given gold ornaments in the meeting itself by the organisers of the meeting. On this event the reaction of the caste Hindus is that they have stopped employing untouchables in their manual work. Same kind of incidences are happening at Mahad after Mahad water episode. In the Mahad conference stopping the begging of bread(roti) , eating the flesh of the dead animals by the untouchables were the resolutions that were passed. We had never thought that untouchables in Mahad area will implement these resolutions so quickly. But touchables are making hue and cry against the untouchables and in some villages the entry of the untouchables in the village has been stopped by the touchables. In some villages the untouchables were removed from the farms that were given to them on rent basis by the touchables. In this way the touchables are making the efforts to reimpose the old practices of slavery on untouchables against which the untouchables are trying to get rid of their slavery.

There is no doubt that by hearing this any rational minded man will feel surprised. The touchables state it with arrogance that untouchables eat the flesh of the dead animal, they beg for the stale food from the touchables and their mode of living is dirty hence they are treated as untouchables. Therefore, their contention is that unless the untouchables give up all this they won't be regarded as touchables. It is true that once the untouchables used to lead this kind of life. But today there is a tremendous awakening among them. The so called untouchables are ready to give up all those practices because of which they were regarded as untouchables. But the surprising thing is that the untouchables are trying to change themselves on the insistence of the touchables but touchables here are trying to spread thorns on the path of the untouchables. When asked why should you treat us as low the answer of the touchables is that they do it so because the untouchables eat what is not eatable; they speak what is not speakable and they lead dirty life, what is not worth leading. The untouchables now as suggested by the touchables would like to change their way giving up all old practices but the touchables are pressurising the untouchables to stick to their old way of life for the selfishness of the touchables. Untouchables are trying to improve themselves without harming anybody and when sometimes they go to state officer, for this very purpose they are harassed. If they go to the officer like Tahasildar, the Tahasildar refuses to receive their complaint stating that they have become arrogant and defying. Not only this but even the money lenders are refusing to extend loans to them, landlords are refusing to give land on rent to them; shop keepers are refusing to sell their good to them. Such a tragedy can be noticed nowhere in the world. In fact untouchables are backward and conservative minded, sometimes it is difficult to say whether mere propaganda will have any effect on them. Under the circumstances the reform minded people in Hindu society must be very happy that by mere conferences and speeches made therein the drastic changes have suddenly occurred among the untouchable people in many areas like magic wand. This is an unprecedented thing in our society. This has never happened before and it shows that instead of removing untouchability the touchables want it to remain perpetually for their own benefit. The touchables tell them that unless they reform their way of living there is no remedy and when they make efforts to reform their way of life they place all possible hurdles in their way of reform. This would only mean their inhumanity to humanity.

11. According to Manu in his law book called Manu Smriti every Hindu has eight rights for his use. Since Manu has made the division of these rights as per his will he has reserved many rights only for Brahmin community. He has assigned remaining rights to the non-Brahmin communities. However he gave nothing to the untouchables. since he did not give any rights to the untouchables he has prescribed only the two types

of works to the untouchables and this can be easily understood by those who have read the Manu Smriti. Under the circumstances if untouchables try to improve themselves it would mean that they violate the rules of the Manu's eight rights. Hence it is quite necessary that the Hindus must oppose the untouchables if they try to enter the competition with Hindus. All this is the result of the teaching of Bhagwan Manu. It is for this reason we are sometimes compelled to criticise Bhagwan Manu. It is for this reason our own professional reform-minded brothers have become unhappy with us and they have shown their unwillingness to send the issue of their paper gratis. Their charge against us is that we use the abusive language. To what extent they are right can be judged by the opinion of other papers on our writing. The editor of Prabodhan (reform) must know that even if the allegation against us that we use abusive language in our writing is sometimes true and in our opinion it is justifiable on some occasions. Abusiveness is tolerable compared with characterlessness is our considered opinion. Had there been the purity of thinking in the editor of Prabodhan we would have accepted his charges for sometimes. But the impurity of his thinking peeps out in his writing. He writes, "When there was not a single Muslim or Christian in India then a question of untouchables was quite different. But in our own days irreligious and cow eating people are also being regarded as touchables and the untouchables who are worshipping Ram-Krishna and regard cow as holy from olden days should continue to be regarded as untouchables is not just". This statement clearly indicates that in the opinion of the editor the continuation of untouchability is unjust not because that the practice of untouchability is inhuman and wrong but it is unjust only because the others who are inimical to the Hindus in religious matter are waiting to take advantage of the existence of untouchability in Hindu society. If the problem of Hindu-Muslim tangle is over, it is clear that the editor will have nothing to do with the inhumanity attached to the practice of untouchability. This would only mean that in their view the work of eradication of untouchability is a kind of Apat Dharm(compulsion) forced on them.

12. Even the orthodox Hindu agree that it is only due to the pressure of the Muslim they feel that the untouchability should be removed. But when we tell the untouchables that they should embrace Islam then why should a man like Dr.Udagaonkar feel angry with us is not understandable to us. This doctor has written an essay in the newspaper Rana-Garjana(battle-cry) dated 6-6-27 under the title 'Remedies of Dr.Ambedkar on the removal of untouchability' and in this writing the doctor has attacked the editorial written in Bahishkrit Bharat dated 20th May under the title 'Responsibility of the untouchables'. We are happy that our suggestion to the untouchables that they should follow the path of resistance is acceptable to the doctor. But our path of boycott has irritated him. He writes that Dr.Ambedkar should not be under the impression that seven crores of untouchables will dance to his tune. Dr.Udgaonkar also thinks that a day may come that untouchables would say that Dr.Ambedkar is not our leader. He says that the untouchables will disown Dr. Ambedkar as their leader if he asks them to change the religion. If by such threats he thinks that we will keep quiet then we must tell him that he has failed to understand us. We have never thought that seven crores of untouchables will dance to our tune. But this will not deter us from telling them that what should they think and what should they do. We never regard us as leaders. We are also not among those who keep on waiting until their followers take steps. Dr.Udgaonkar should keep this in his mind well. And even if the differences developed between us and our people and we cease to be their leaders we will not feel anything bad about it. We are not among those who speak only that which keep the people pleased, we believe in speaking the truth alone without bothering for the consequences. When we said that the boycott is Tilak's weapon Dr.Udgaonkar laughed at it. Had he had that much intelligence he would have wept instead of laughing and said "Lokmanya(Tilak) why have you done this? The weapon which you used against the British for political purpose these untouchables are using the same for their social purpose". It is good that this disciple of Lokmanya is empty minded.

Otherwise the world would have blamed Tilak for producing the weapon of boycott. He writes that changing religion is a suicidal step for the untouchables. Merely by saying this is of no use. He should tell us the advantages that the untouchables will have by remaining in Hinduism and the disadvantages by going out of the Hinduism. Had he done this we would have known the mistake that we are committing. Had Dr. Udgaonkar at least condemned the atrocities committed at Mahad by the caste Hindus, he and his Hindu Maha Sabha would have had some merit accrued to their names. When you have no service to the untouchables to your credit what right you have to tell them that if they go to other religion they will deceive themselves. Perhaps Dr. Udgaonkar's scretaryship of Hindu Maha Sabha and lofty philosophy of the Hinduism are in his view sufficient to keep the untouchables pleased in Hinduism. Such dry words will not keep the untouchables pleased now. Dr. Udgaonkar and others like him feel angry when we say that we are converting to other religion. In these circumstances we would like to tell them that treat us as your equals or else we are going. We do not want to hear hereafter your dirty twaddle.

13. This is a time of test for us. If anybody wants to speak on the problem of eradication of untouchability he should see that his words do not go beyond the limit of our work. Otherwise as the managers of the temple at Phanaswadi in Bombay were subjected to the test you will also be subjected to the same. It is said that the people in Poona are very much fond of building the temples. There may be some reason for this. It is said that the Poonaites are in the habit of making water often. And in those old days there was not sufficient provision for this in Poona. Therefore, the people in Poona used to urinate at any possible place. Therefore, the people of Poona were fed up with bad smell produced by the urination. The people made many efforts to keep themselves aloof from this but it was of no use. When the people were in this dilemma someone raised a point that the place where the people urinate there if the temple is constructed then we will free ourselves from the dirt. Because no body will think of making the temple

area dirty. This news spread in Poona and as a result there came up temples like the temple of Flinching (Kach Khau) Mhasoba; Angry Mhasoba; Murdering Murlidhar, Sparrow Ganapati, Potato Maruti etc. in a big number. Whatever it is but such calamity did not fall on the people of Mumbai. Then why should they build a temple in Mumbai by spending Rs. 10 Lakhs and why should the people opposed to it calling the temple as Horrible temple. This had become a matter of controversy at least for some time. The paper 'Hindustan', had published in its issue of 10th June that this temple is going to be open for all the people. This news was brought to the notice of Dr.Ambedkar. To know the reality Dr.Ambedkar along with followers decided to visit the temple. After some contact the temple manager told them on 12th June, 1927 that at 6 o'clock in the evening they can meet him. Dr.Ambedkar and Shivatarkar along with others went to the temple. While making enquiry about the manager other people made entry into the temple. Shouting started that untouchables have entered the temple. The people there began arguing with Dr.Ambedkar and Shivatarkar. Their reply was that they have come there by invitation the people there can do whatever they want to do. We are not going to withdraw. Had Dr.Ambedkar and his men not shown courage the situation would have taken a dangerous turn. Meanwhile the man who had published the news on 10th June came there. The people beat him. Meanwhile the secretary of the temple management came there, he calmed the situation. He sent Dr.Ambedkar back telling him that he will bring about the meeting between him and the temple manager. We have given him our address and we are now waiting for his invitation. If we do not receive his invitation in a stipulated time then we will do all that which is necessary to protect the rights of untouchables. Unless we pursue this way these mere talkers will never prepare themselves to do that which they speak.

14. Our advice to the untouchables in Bombay is that this is an opportune time for them to get their entry into the temples and they should get ready to avail themselves of this opportunity. We hope that our people will think over this

suggestion seriously. In Bombay some touchables are thinking to construct separate temples and we have already told them our opinion on that issue. Without listening the opinion of the leaders in the separate temple construction issue we ask the people to convert to other religion is the charge on us. Therefore, they have called us as timid. It is not necessary to tell to others that our ancestors always worked as soldiers. They did not touch anything except the guns. Though at present we are holding pen in our hand it does not mean that we have never used gun and sword. Those whose ancestors did not even touch the sickle, it is surprising that they should teach a lesson of bravery to us. Even if we ignore their hereditary quarrelsome habit we ask them that where lies the issue of real bravery? Is it there in the construction of new temple? If this is so then there are some people among the untouchables who bit their tails before the caste Hindus saying that we will sit here only near your shoes without coming up(to sit with you) such timid people should be regarded as brave men then. A brave man among the untouchables will never beg for new temples. The builders of new temples should dissociate with the brave caste of untouchables.

15. From Pune branch of Depressed Classes Mission, Bombay we have received a letter. The letter is signed by Shri Patade, Subhedar Ghadge and Shri Gayakwad. This letter is an answer to the criticism leveled against the private use of Mission's buildings at Pune. We have no objection in printing this letter. But while printing we will be compelled to criticise the issues discussed in the letter. We have not printed the letter yet because it is likely that by our criticism the Mission may suffer losses. We have received a second letter from them. Perhaps they think that we will keep quiet by their pressure tactics. In that second letter they have stated that they are bringing out the mistakes done in the Mahad water episode. Shri Patade and Subhedar Ghadge must know it that it is our challenge to them that they must print it. If they communicate to us that even if we criticise them because of their letters they have no objection, we will immediately publish their letters, and our answer on their report on Mahad is already ready.

They must note it. We are only waiting for the publication of their report.

16. India has decayed but if decay is in every area, in our opinion its decay in physical field is more visible than its decay in other fields. Oriental Insurance Company of Bombay has published a small but very informative book on this subject very recently. In that book it has been proved that in their physical body the Hindus are much inferior to European people. It is quite natural that this decay which is noticed for many days has now been noticed by men of understanding. The man who organised a conference on 'Physical Body' in Maharashtra in last May at Pune must be thanked very much. However we feel sorry for one reason. In this conference six resolutions were passed in all. There is no doubt that the resolutions passed are all undoubtedly useful. But the conference did not pass the resolution of prohibition of child marriage. We feel surprised for this. There may be many causes of physical decline. But what we feel is that the child marriage among the Hindus is one of the causes of Hindus' physical decline. In the year 1871 Babu Keshav Chandrasen had invited the opinion of many doctors on the issue of decline of the Hindus physically and how that can be arrested. The opinion of all the doctors was one and unanimous and that was that it was due to the child marriage which is commonly prevalent among the Hindus and to prevent it the marriage of the girls should not take place before they are 16 years of age. By exercises and food habits the man can improve his health provided that there is some energy in the body but when there is no energy at all what is the use of exercises. In this respect in our view the work of the Poona Conference succeeded only the half way. It is possible that thinking that the question of marriage is a religious question therefore the organisers of the conference must have left the question of child marriage untouched. However any rational minded people will think that the conference has failed in its purpose by keeping aside the question of Child marriage. Hindus do not hesitate in bringing any social matter into the arena of religion and hence the efforts of social reform find thorns in its path of reform in

India. Therefore, only remedy is put limits to the issues of religion and make the path of social reform easier is the way out to make the Hindu society healthy. When the conference on 'Physical Health' meets next time, we hope, it will consider our above stated views in its proceedings.

Suggestion for Subscriber

Letter or money order should be sent to the Manager, Bahishkrit Bharat. Please mention your Register number and send a ticket of one anna otherwise your letter will not be replied.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, dated 1st July, 1927

Happiness in sorrow

There are many religions in the world. There are many differences among the followers of every religion. Ordinary differences like some are rich some are poor, some are knowledgeable some are ignorant are commonly found in all the religions. Similarly differences due to different professions are also found in each religion. The differences like Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra are there not only in Hindu religion but such differences are found in Christianity and Muslim religions also. Since these differences and divisions are same and similar in all religions one may think that in Hindu religion also these are same and similar. However the division of Brahmin, non-Brahmin which has been found now a days was not there before and it is such a division that it cannot be found in other religions. There were many peoples' movements in Europe. The prominent among these were the king versus people, the Pope versus others, and rich versus poor etc. and we do not think that these movements will provide any clue to understand the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin movement in India. The reason for this is that the issues on which the movements in western countries have stood are not the same on which the Brahmin-non-Brahmin movement has stood. The problem of Brahmin-Non-Brahmin movement is peculiar to Hindu religion only because its seeds are there only in Hinduism. And these are that the division among the Hindus is based on merits and demerits of individuals. It is on the basis of this principle the divisions of people have been formed among the Hindus. In addition to this the caste wise divisions is another factor in Hinduism. These divisions are not found in any non-Hindu society. If the divisions based on economic condition is made the two divisions rich and poor can be found in all the societies. But the limit of dividing the society in case of non-Hindu societies ends here only. But this is not the case with Hindu society. In addition to this there remains one more distinction in Hindu society. In Hindu society divisions like rich Brahman, rich Mahar, poor Brahman, poor Mahar, Brahman labour , Mahar labour etc. can be made. There is no scope to divide non-Hindu society in this manner. In other society the divisions are artificial. If a poor man improves his economic condition his division can change if he is a member of non-Hindu society but this cannot happen in case of Brahmin-non-Brahmin group. These groups are castes and the man brings in Hindu society his caste with his birth. This is the unchangeable social status of a man that is given to him by his parents. Therefore, what is applied to the division in other societies cannot be applied to the Brahmin-non-Brahmin divisions in India.

In the time of Rigveda when the delivery of Brahma took place he gave birth to these naughty children of Brahmins. And these Brahmins erected a wall of division around them first. Immediately after the erection of this wall a division of Brahmin-non-Brahmin took place. And this division buried the division based on merit and demerit and in its place they established the system of division of castes. In course of time this process percolated to the non-Brahmins also and the caste divisions took place among them too each division claiming some Rishi as its progenitor. The non-Brahmins also raised a wall around their each caste and formed various castes among them. It would have been alright if the purpose of fortification was only to show that each division is different from other division. But those Brahmins who did this fortification first their purpose was to show others that they are superior to others. The non-Brahmins who subsequently followed the system of fortification of the Brahmins also developed the feeling of inferiority and superiority, like the Brahmins in them. Due to the fortification system each caste developed the feeling that it is different from other castes. Not only this that each caste felt that it is superior to other castes in some respect. Thus high and low by birth is the system of Brahmanism in India.

Those who have read the ancient Indian history will easily understand that the Non-Brahmins had started the struggle against Brahmins since the olden days. But the intensity of the struggle was less than the intensity it has acquired in our days. In olden days whether it was the division on merit-demerit or caste-wise division there was no much difference between the two. It is so because as these castes were by birth meritorious they were also by birth superior. The merit and superiority generally went together. This is so because some castes were by birth superior and also by birth meritorious and some castes were by birth inferior and by birth demeritorious. However nobody should think this merit demerit or inferiority or superiority business is god ordained or *fate accompli*. The inferior or lower castes remained backward and degraded because these were not allowed to improve their condition by law. This is clear from the laws of Manu in his Manu Smriti. But under the British this social pattern is now completely disturbed. Now even among the Brahmins low calibered people are taking birth and also well educated and talented people are found among the Non-Brahmins. This way the merit and the Brahmin monopoly has been disturbed and this has added strength to the Non-Brahmin movement now. To end this position there is a need to end the system of Brahmanism. Everybody has now realised that the Brahmanism has harmed the country. It is because of Brahmanism the doors of education were closed to the Non-Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins remained illiterate for centuries together. Non-Brahmins were prevented to read the religious books like the Vedas by keeping the caste system birth based. This killed the individual initiative which is required for man's progress. By preaching that nothing happens against the fortune they made the people fatalist. By preaching the ideas of purity impurity and touchability-untouchability they made the people reject the supreme ideas of humanity. Those who tell the people that the British Anglical system has damaged this country are not perhaps aware that how much damage the Brahmanism has done to this country. In our opinion Anglican system and Brahmanism are two blood sucking insects that are sucking the blood of this country. The Anglicanism sucked the wealth of this country and Brahmanism has sucked the humanity of the people of this country. Brahmins join all the movements and carry on the struggle but it is surprising that they have not joined the Non-Brahmin movement. The political movements are particularly their feasts. They may miss their meals but not meetings otherwise they may suffer dysentery. They also participate in their own way in the social reform movements. They have shown interests in widow re-marriage, prevention of child marriage etc. they also participate in labour movements. They are also responsible in introducing the communist movement in India. The question is why are they reluctant in participating the Non-Brahmins movement? Not only this but if anybody holds Brahmins responsible for Brahmanism they argue that why people are only after Brahmanism?

Their argument is that those who are capable can impose their will upon others. They established their religious supremacy not by killing the people. This means in their opinion they enslaved people by superiority of their mind and it is quite natural. Wise people always try to protect their interest and why not? No where it has happened that wise men have not taken advantage of the ignorant masses. The examples in history are not wanting where the people who acquired religious monopoly have not exploited the masses. This kind of language has been used by 'Kesari' shamelessly to justify the Brahmin dominance in society. In matters of

Mahad episode when we blamed Brahmins and Shetajis (merchants) they in return retorted us whether they alone have the monopoly of eradicating untouchability. If the Brahmins have not done the useful work for the untouchables, we admit that , it is not their fault. But when we have blamed the Brahmins it is only due to the fact that the Brahmins are the leaders of Hindu society. To a great extent the progress or retrogression of society depends upon the leaders. Society takes shape as per the guidance of the leaders. In short the leaders are generally held responsible for virtues and vices of the society. In society there are found both ordinary and extra-ordinary people. Similarly among societies also some societies are regarded as ordinary and some are as respectful. If the quarrel takes place between an ordinary man and a respectful man the responsibility of ending the quarrel is thrown in the lap of the respectful man more than the other one. In the same way the responsibility of ending the quarrel between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins can be fixed on the Brahmin leaders to a great extent. Because the leadership of Hindu society has remained with the Brahmins from very olden days. Hence the Brahmins must know their responsibility to enjoy the prestige of leadership. If they do not want to shoulder this responsibility they should join the Shudras and Ati-Shudras. Without this they cannot avoid the allegation against them.

This is an explanation why we hold Brahmins responsible for certain things. Now the another question that poses itself is if the Brahmins do not come forward to destroy Brahmanism does it mean that others should not do anything against Brahmanism? In our opinion if the destruction of Brahmanism is the equal responsibility of all the classes no class can free itself from this responsibility, because the Brahmanism has spread among all the classes in India. Many untouchables, many Non-Brahmins an enormous number of Brahmins are the followers of Brahmanism. Non-Brahmins are sitting on the shoulders of the untouchables and the Brahmins are sitting on the shoulders of Non-Brahmins and the poor and helpless are carrying the burden of both Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Under the circumstances if any one out of the two descend down from the shoulders of untouchables and walk with their own legs that will reduce the burden of the untouchables from their shoulders. If Brahmins are unwilling to descend down why not Non-Brahmins show their mercifulness to descend down? The Brahmins are the originators of Brahmanism. As the stream of Brahmanism went on widening itself it covered many people within its widening stream, but those who joined this stream, it does not mean that they should not make efforts to arrest its growth. Our Non-Brahmin friends have not thought over this issue seriously as was expected of them. When the Non-Brahmins do certain things that go against the Non-Brahmin party their argument is that the Brahmins compel us to do that. This is their argument which is their lame excuse. This might be happening some times but this lame excuse every time seems to amounting to evading the responsibility. If Non-Brahmin party resorts to this kind of tactics often, we fear, whether Non-Brahmin party can survive effectively. Discussions that occurred in the Non-Brahmin news papers about the atrocities done at Mahad during the water episode made us very much disappointing. These newspapers gave stress mainly on the beating of the untouchables by Bhatajis and Shetajis (Brahmins and merchants). In our view who participated in beating was immaterial. We still hold that Shetajis and Bhatajis participated in the beating. Not only this but for the satisfaction of the Non-Brahmins we are prepared to give witness against Shetajis and Bhatajis. But inspite of all this the position of the Non-Brahmin party is puzzling to us. What is the aim of the Non-Brahmin party? The need of the Non-Brahmin party is to destroy Brahmanism. We do not feel any need of guillotining Brahmins because they do not come forward to work against Brahmanism. So far the Brahmins have not worked against Brahmanism and the Non-Brahmin party is born to fulfill this task. This should be the purpose and the aim of the Non-Brahmin party. We view the work of the Non-Brahmin party from this point of view. We had expected that understanding this responsibility the workers and the leaders of the Non-Brahmin Party would do some constructive work. But without any work of that kind what they argue is that whatever atrocious work that was done was done by the Brahmins and the Shetajis and if we have done anything against the untouchables it was due to the instigation of the Brahmins. All that we can say on this is it is the sign of their low thinking.

The only happiness in this unhappy situation is that Shri Javalkar and Shri Jedhe these two Non-Brahmin leaders have declared that they are prepared to join the agitation at Mahad which the untouchables have launched. We are thankful to them for this declaration but more than this we are heartily grateful to our Non-Brahmin leader in Varhad (Vidharbha). More than the Non-Brahmin leaders of Mumbai area the Non-Brahmin leaders of Varhad are very much serious in the programmes of eradicating untouchability. This is clear when we read the newspapers run by the Non-Brahmins there. We are sure that if Shri Javalkar had not toured the Vidarbha area he would not have become that serious in this problem. Whatever it is, it is a matter of great happiness that Non-Brahmins have started showing more sympathy in the problems of the untouchables. This adds prestige to the ideas of the Non-Brahmin Party leaders. We have already declared in our editorial of second issue of our Bahishkrit Bharat that it is our desire to undertake Satyagraha again at Mahad. Some people are telling us that the Satyagraha will create more difficult problems for us. We are showing unnecessary eagerness is their opinion. They are also arguing that we are not caring for the age old traditional mentality of the Hindus. They are also arguing that we are trying to cover hundred miles in one jump like Hanuman who jumped on Lanka. They assert that we are trying to explode hundred years tradition in one explosion. With such arguments touchables are threatening us and are trying to dissuade us from Satyagraha. But we will not care for such threats. If the untouchability was to go only by such logical arguments we would have accepted these arguments and kept quiet at least for some more days. We are aware that the untouchability will not go by mere debates and by teaching the lessons. It needs attacks with weapons. All other arguments indicate the weakness of mind. Our conscience is telling us that we should not be victims of our mental weakness. Therefore we have decided to launch Satyagraha at Mahad again as early as possible. Shri Javalkar and Jedhe have made some suggestion on the nature of coming Satyagraha, we have accepted their suggestion. However there is one point on which there is a difference between their suggestion and our opinion and we are stating that difference here. Shri Jedhe and Javalkar have put a condition that no Brahmin should be allowed to participate in the Satyagraha. We will never accept this suggestion. We would like to declare that we are not opposed to the Brahmins. We pinpoint the Brahmanism. Brahmins are not our enemies, the Brahmins who are imbibed with spirit of Brahmanism are our enemies. Because of this idea we regard any Brahmin if he is opposed to Brahmanism as our friend and any Non-Brahmin if he is the supporter of Brahmanism as our enemy. Since this is our mental make up our Satyagraha is free for all irrespective of caste. Those who feel that Brahmanism is wrong will participate in it, there is no question of selecting anybody.

Appropriate Result of the Depressed Classes Conference at Mahad

(Author : - Nath)

The fame of the depressed (untouchables) classes conference that was held at Mahad has spread throughout the country. Taking advantage of this conference the people of other religion are trying to woo the untouchables. Therefore, it is my aim to discuss here the advantage or disadvantage this conference produced for the untouchable communities.

At Mahad the touchables who showed their infamous bravery in beating the untouchables has no parallel in history. Today the people of entire country are blaming the touchables of Mahad for their religious treachery in beating the untouchables while they were in their conference. When the subject of Mahad and untouchables comes for discussion we the touchable people of Mahad bend down our heads in shame. The touchables are also trying to set aside the blame put on them. At least some of the touchables are in a remorsing mood.

And herein lies the real success of the conference. Brahmins say that they have no share in the blame. These bad acts have been done by the Marathas and such others. The Marathas and such others say that where was the need of them participating in it? We participated in it because of the instigation of our religious preceptors.

There is also a small so called liberal minded shameless party which says that the entire responsibility of beating and banging goes to the untouchables. Shri Mate of Poona is one of those shameless reformers. This man who is in the garb of reformer of untouchables is putting the blame on the untouchables. Had mate by visiting Mahad not made the farce of enquiry his old good position would remained as it was. And there would have been some value to his work which he has done so far. For pleasing his own caste men (Brahmins) he made fantastic statements and it is this that boomeranged on him. Shri Tipnis and Potnis have stated the facts on what has really happened and this has made Shri Mate's position almost naked. Let anybody write whatever he wishes to write, let any individual try to shift his responsibility in whatever manner he likes, one thing has become clear in this episode. And that is that "The Hindus are feeling that with regard to religion there is nothing that prevents the untouchables from drawing water from the public places. The touchable Hindus are also feeling that the untouchables should not be prevented in drawing water from public places". From all over the country the public meetings have been conducted and are still being conducted to condemn the touchables of Mahad. This is the real achievement of Mahad episode.

The illiterate people both among the touchables and untouchables were under this impression that the untouchables are not allowed to take water from the public places by law. If the untouchables draw water from such places the government will punish them was their misunderstanding. This has gone now. The untouchables drew water from Mahad public tank but nothing happened to them. Not only did the government not punish the untouchables but those touchables who committed atrocities on untouchables were made guilty by the government and litigations are going on against them. This made the issue clear to the untouchables also and now they came to know that the law authorises them to draw the water from the public places. The touchables also realised their ignorance about law in this regard. All this is a great advantage that came forth from the Depressed Classes Conference held at Mahad.

What does the conference mean? How is it organised? What is the use of it? All this was not known at least to the people of Mahad Taluka, the people of Mahad Taluka knew it now well and they also came to know that the educated people among them are making all efforts to improve their condition. They have now started thinking about their shortcomings from which they suffer and they have come to know how to remove them. They have also come to know their leaders closely and it has created a sense of self-respect in them. They have come to know that by getting rid of our present day degraded life we must lead a respectful life. The people learn some thing even from a small conference but the conference of Mahad was a revolution in opening the eyes of both the untouchables and the caste Hindus.

The biggest contribution of this conference is that it has produced revolutionary change in the self-awareness among the untouchables of the Konkan area. The wind of self-respect is blowing among the untouchables of this area. By removing the defects in them they are making progress with some speed. The Mahars of each village have given up eating the flesh of the dead animals and also begging food for their routine service. The untouchables are feeling the pinch of insult that was done to them in the Mahad episode. An urge of progress has been created in them. All this is the result of the conference. This conference has stirred awakening among the untouchables and that is its greatest contribution.

Some short-sighted people say that the riots at Mahad pushed the progress of untouchables ten years back. In my opinion Mahad episode pushed the progress of untouchables twenty years ahead. And I have written this essay only to show this. It is the readers who are to judge to what extent I have succeeded in my great herculean task.

Self-Introduction

Public Meetings, Programmes and Other News

Declare Satyagraha at Mahad

In order to protect their natural rights the untouchables drank water from Chavdar Tank at Mahad. As a result of this some Brahmins, merchants Bhatajis and Shetajis and other Non-Brahmins under the influence of Brahmanism beat the untouchables. The different aspects of this struggle has appeared in the newspapers. Under the circumstances the untouchables should go there again with determination and drink water from the tank. We will join the untouchables in this Satyagraha and will request our other Non-Brahmin brothers for joining the Satyagraha at Mahad. We are requesting the leaders of our untouchable brothers to continue the struggle until we get the final decision on public places like temples, public tanks, public wells, public water resources. etc.

Yours Sincerely,

Keshavrao Jedhe, Dinakarrao Javalkar

How to Organise Satyagraha at Mahad

We are thinking that the Satyagraha should be launched again at Mahad to protect and declare the basic rights of untouchables. What should be the mode of Satyagraha is being declared hereby by us in this letter.

1. Satyagraha should be completely Non -violent.
2. To make the Satyagraha successful no Brahman should be included in it.
3. Instead of sending one or two persons a group of one thousands or five hundred should go there holding the flag of Hinduism and drink the water.

4. A conference should be organised at Mahad and people should enter the temples, water tanks and on the some day they should go to the Chavdar Tank and drink the water.

Hundreds of Non-Brahmin young men are ready to come to Mahad and join the Satyagraha in order to save the prestige of Hindu religion.

The leaders of the untouchables should declare their decision at the earliest and give us chance to remove the blot of untouchability that is attached to the Hinduism.

Ahmednagar — Yours sincerely,
19-6-27 — Keshavrao Jedhe, Dinakar Javalkar

Pre-Preparation for Satyagraha at Mahad

After meeting at Mahad in the conference the delegates went to the Chavdar tank at Mahad and drank the water. As a result of this riots took place at Mahad and caste Hindus beat the delegates. Not only this but the touchables ceremoniously purified the Chavdar tank thereby confirming the blot of impurity of the untouchables. In order to prove that this Hindu notion of impurity is wrong we on behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha have decided to launch the Satyagraha again at Mahad. Those whether untouchables or others wish to join the Satyagraha to show that every human being has a right to protect his right of self-respect, should register his name in the office of Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha, Damodar Hall, Parel, Mumbai.

Date 26-6-27. — Yours,

Sitaram Namadeo Shivatharkar,
General Secretary,
Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha.

District Kolaba

Taluka Mahad, here the public meeting of the Mahars was called. Shri Shivaram Gopal Jadhav spoke in the meeting on the miserable condition of the untouchables and this news has been communicated by Shri Bhikku Horu Jadhar.

Shri Shivaram Gopal Jadhav is at present touring the Mahad Taluka lecturing to the untouchables on reforms in them. The letter which has been sent to us is summarised and printed below.

(A) At Turbhe (village) the Marathas are threatening the Mahars that if they do not eat the flesh of the dead animals, do not salute the upper castes, and do not beg for the food by going door to door of the upper castes' houses as usual they (Marathas) will drive them out of the village by placing earthen pots on their heads. The sense of self-respect has grown among the untouchables after they attended the Mahad conference. Hence the untouchables are trying to reject all that which has kept them in perpetuated slavery whereas the touchables are threatening and making them to stick to their old practices which have enslaved them. preventing the untouchables from entering into the village, disallowing them from purchasing their requirements from the village shops are the means of harassment of the untouchables that the caste Hindus (Marathas) are using in the villages. Similarly, the untouchables of the village Parle, Wadgaon, Asanpar are harassed in the manner mentioned above plus they are not allowed to use the public road and roads going from the farms of the touchables. Not only this but on 4-6-27 the Marathas beat one Shri Pandurangdas Deodas Gosavi severely.

This is being repeated at various places in Mahad Taluka. There are no schools for the untouchables.

Will the government pay attention to this?

Khandesh

The news from Shri Senu Narayan at Faizpur, East Khandesh is that, Hon. W.Giligan, Collector Saheb, a well wisher of the untouchables, for him a wel-come function was organised by the untouchables on 21-4-27. On this occasion some well wishers donated Rs.51 for Chokhamela Boarding House.

2. In a village called Majakur one Shri Kashiram Annaji Tayade a Mahar by caste was appointed as an acting Talathi. There was a big commotion in the village on the day on which Shri Tayade joined the village office(Chavadi). The villagers thought that the Chavadi has been polluted. The discussion started between village Patil and others as to where he should sit. Some suggested that he should sit in the Geol section of the Chavadi, some suggested that he should sit in the Kondwada(animal geol) of the village. Some suggested that let him sit near the door of the Chavadi. Ultimately it was decided that he should sit near the door. The mattress that was there was removed and the new Talathi used to bring the mattress from his home every day and carry it back in the evening. After some day a Mohammedan Talathi came there in his place. Immediately the mattress that was removed was provided to him. Poor creature suffered quietly and went away. Some days back a prostitute of Mahar caste became Muslim here. The touchables here that were in contact with her did not think that they are polluted with her contact. Bravo Hindus for your bravery.

3. Some days back here took place the election for Municipal Committee. In this election in ward no.3 Shri Narayan Balavant Kulkarni was a contestant. Shri Devachand Pahuna Mede's name was communicated by him to the President of Municipal Council Faizpur, as his agent in the election. Shri Mede was Mahar by caste. President hesitated to issue the order in this regard. At the nick of time the candidate Shri Kulkarni was told that they have not received his application. The poor Mahar was disappointed and felt humiliated. When officers in the municipality feel polluted then what would have been the position of the untouchable members in Municipal Committee when they sit there for the meeting is just unimaginable. The untouchable voters have been threatened by the committee members, but also apart from it even the Police Inspector also threatened the untouchable voters that he will put them in shackles. As if in his opinion the untouchable voters were the culprits. Due to this opposition Shri Narayan Balvant Kulkarni did not get elected. Will the

government interfere in it?

4. In order to keep the village clean the scavengers are appointed. These scavengers clean the public roads, weekly bazaars, public lavatories, drainages etc. They carry the worthless litters and dispose it off the village. Like all other villagers the untouchables also pay the Municipal tax but cleaning the road in Maharwada is forbidden. Shri Sidaram Punji who is a Municipal Councilor from Mahar community made efforts in this regards but his efforts proved sterile. The argument was the brooms which will be used in cleaning the road in Maharwada the same will also be used in sweeping the roads of the village in touchables' area and those roads will be polluted. Will our government which is merciful take care and pay attention towards it?

5. In the evening of 3-5-27 on the temple yard of Khanderrao temple the tercentenary birthday of Shri Chh. Shivaji Maharaj was celebrated. The credit of organising this function goes to Swami Atmanand Brahmachari. Shri Swami spoke on the eradication of untouchability. His speech was quite clear, fearless, effective and urging sincerely. But can Hindus, whom the touch of the untouchables pollutes the offices, pollutes the road, pollutes the sweeping brooms, etc. like Swamiji's speeches on the eradication of the practice of untouchability? Bravo Hindus. By keeping closed all the doors of social contact to the untouchables you are asking them to leave Hinduism. Shri Swami about whom there is a blemish discussion in the village is a staunch supporter and protector of Hinduism. May god bless swami Atmanand with a very lengthy and fruitful life.

6. The touchable Hindus must remember that the untouchables care a little for harassment, prohibitive tactics and humiliating treatment. The to-day's untouchable is no longer the untouchable of yesterday. The bravery has surcharged him to fight to regain his lost rights.

Karwar

Open the doors of the temple

Untouchables at Karwar are trying to get the doors of the temple of Shri Vithoba opened there at Karwar. They have applied to the trustees of the temple requesting them to give an entry to the temple and some well intentioned Hindus have also supported their request. Application made by the untouchables to the management of the temple is as below.

To,

The management,

Kajubag, Shri Vithoba temple

We the undersigned Mahars, Chambhars, Mochis and Scavengers of Karwar humbly submit the following application:

Sir,

Since a long time the thought is lingering in our mind that we should found a Bhajani Mandal and by playing with music and other instruments of entertainment go in procession to the temple of Shri Vithoba and have his Darshan (see the image of god). Today we have decided to reveal our mind by mustering some courage.

Whatever conditions you put for taking our procession to the temple we will strictly follow those.

Yours obediently,

This application has been signed by almost thirty untouchables and the application of touchable Hindus that has been attached to the application of the untouchables in its support runs as follows : -

Om shri! Application made by the untouchables has been read by us with satisfaction that there is nothing in their application that can harm our religion is our considered opinion.

This application of the touchable Hindus has been signed by 60 to 70 people. Among the signatories are Brahmin Pandits, some are learned Sanskrit scholars and men of various professions. Their names are mentioned in the Bahishkrit Bharat but we have not mentioned those names as it is not that necessary here.

In addition to the application of the touchables mentioned above the opinion given by Sukerikar Raghuveer Vyasrai Acharya is quite different and worth quoting. He says that:

Every devotee has his rightful claim over the god whom he worships. Preventing anybody to worship the god merely because he is an untouchable is not the sign of his love for god on the contrary such obstructer becomes the subject of the wrath of god. The devotion is not an external form of the devotee it is the genuine internal urge for devotion to god.

When this was happening in Karwar Gandhiji who was staying at Nandi Tekadi(hillock). After hearing about the news from Karwar he sent his message to Karwar. The message was sent to one Shri Nadkarni. The message was in English. It is given below.

4-6-1927 Nandi Tekadi

Dear, Mr. Nadkarni,

I am happy to know that in your place the so called untouchables are making efforts to seek entry to the temple and you are helping them in their endeavour. I hope that in the next meeting of the temple management the issue of the temple entry will be taken up in favour of the entry unanimously. The decision thus taken will not be the justice to them who have been suppressed but it is a justice to us. I personally feel that our temples have become devoid of real gods. I personally feel that because of our inhuman treatment to the untouchables the god himself has become untouchable and invisible to us. When we will open not only temples but also open our hearts for them then only the god will enter the temple.

I hope that my message will reach you before your committee meeting takes place. I received your letter yesterday evening and I am sending message in response to your letter.

Yours,

M.K.Gandhi

Soon this problem of temple entry at Karwar is going to come before the temple management committee meeting. We are eagerly waiting for the result. On 3rd February Gandhiji made his speech in Nagpur. His speech has a relevance to this problem hence the summary of his speech is given below.

Untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. To remove this blot on Hinduism Swami Shraddhanandji became a martyr. Eradication of untouchability will be his real memorial . If this blot of untouchability is not removed soon it will destroy Hindus!

Of course the Hindus must be proud of Hinduism is his saying.

We are waiting for the Karwar temple entry results.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with PostageRs.3
Single issue for 1½ annas.

Printer:
Mangesh Narayan Kulkarni
Karnatak Press, 318 A
Thakurdwar Mumbai

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, dated 15th July, 1927 [Issue 8th

Day To day Problems

1. Even though the Muslims are luxurious in eating, drinking etc. usually but in the month of Ramajan they undertake fast very severely. During fasting period they even do not drink water. A story of a Fakir (Muslim saint) runs like this that a fakir was tired of fasting with severity. He wanted to quench his thirst at least and while thinking this way an idea came to his mind that he should go to the river under the pretext of taking bath everyday. There immerse into the water and drink the water. This trick, he thought will not be known to anybody. So he continued this trick of drinking water everyday and nobody knew this trick. Then the saint used to say that what he did is not known even to the god. One day his trick failed. While drinking water after immersing into the water a fish entered into his mouth. The fish was somewhat big and it was caught in the throat of the saint. Neither it was easy to swallow nor was it easy to vomit due to the thorns of the fish. In this condition he went back to the village. His evil act became known to the people.

2. Almost the same thing happened in case of Panagar Buwa (saintly man) in Baroda. Shri Panagarkar had gone to

Baroda some days back and there one Shri Vinayak Wakaskar invited him for food. Shri Panagarkar accepted the invitation, went there and ate the food. Now Shri Vinayak Wakaskar is a Kayasth Prabhu by caste whereas Shri Panagarkar Buwa is a Brahmin. What we thought that Shri Panagarkar showed the courage in taking his food in the house of a Kayastha Prabhu. We thought that Panagarkar Buwa is a liberal minded man but he underwent an expiation (Prayashchita) for that and showed his weakness. After his expiation some conservative minded people are praising him for his expiation. But in this episode what Shri Panagarkar Buwa writes is very funny. He says that he underwent expiation only for the satisfaction of the conservative people. We feel that the act like expiation is a worth condemning act in our days. Some so called liberal people undergo expiation and their argument is that though we undergo expiation that does not mean that we will not commit those acts again. Such kind of people may be reformers but in our view their behaviour is unworthy as it is not based on sincerity. Because by undergoing expiation the man himself proves that what he did was wrong. The expiation is the indication of weak mind. Old views will not change by such evasive tactics. On the contrary, the conservative minded people will think that what they think is correct and the people who undergo expiatory rites are wrong. Shri Panagarkar, if not a reformer, is the follower of Bhagwat (cult of devotion-Bhakti) Dharma (religion). He has written the biographies of many saints of Bhagwat Dharma. It is not necessary, therefore, that Shri Panagarkar should undergo the expiation as he is the staunch follower of Bhagwat Dharma. In our opinion as it is wrong for the reformers to undergo expiation similarly it is wrong on the part of the follower of Bhagwat cult to undergo an expiation after participating in the eating the food with people of other castes. Because the religion of Bhagwats does not believe in caste practices. Even if it is taken for granted that Shri Panagarkar is an orthodox man his behaviour is not honest. One thing is that Shri Panagarkar should not have gone to Shri Wakaskar to take his meals and once he did it he should have kept quiet. Had Shri Joshi not published about this inter-dining everything would have gone well. Shri Panagarkar must be in the habit of inter-dining but when it is revealed he helplessly setting aside the ethics of honesty, underwent the ceremony of expiation.

3. Calamity which fell on Panagarkar was due to the lack of his self-courage and moral integrity. There are very few Brahmins who have strong will in matters of social reforms. Panagarkar is not an exception to it. In this regard the courage shown by some Brahmins in Poona is very much praiseworthy. In Poona some Brahmins have shown the courage of opening a hotel. The news reporter from Poona has reported to the Bombay Times that in this hotel that is to be started soon the Non-vegetarian food will be available. The reporter has stated the reason for serving Non-vegetarian food here in this hotel that the doctors many times prescribe for the patients the Non-vegetarian food and the Brahmin patients won't get Non-vegetarian food so easily. Hence they suffer for long and sometimes their death takes place. In order to meet this need this new hotel is coming into existence. The reporter has also communicated that in order to encourage the eating of Non-vegetarian food they have also decided to serve intoxicating drinks to the customers of interest in the drinks. In our opinion the Brahmins that have taken lead in it deserve our appreciation. The Brahmins are an absolutely minority community. If the doctors tell them that their patients can survive if they eat Non-vegetarian food they will not hesitate even to eat beef. The Brahmins do not eat the food prepared by the Non-Brahmins. Therefore, the Non-Brahmins cannot render their services to the Brahmins. Hence the task of saving the lives of the Brahmin patients has been undertaken by the Brahmins themselves. Therefore, all Non-Brahmin castes will be exceedingly grateful to them. This business is good from another point of view also. For the existence of society there is a need of some social restrictions but sometimes such restrictions become harmful for individual progress. So long as the individual's view and the society's view are one and the same the conflict will not arise but the strains occur when the individual opinion and the social opinion differ from one another. When the social restrictions come to prevent the doing

of an individual as per the dictation of will (conscience) he is sandwiched and he tries to do that secretly hiding himself from the society. Once this habit is formed in an individual he becomes dishonest, untruthful, hypocrite, seller of lies and what not.

Social and religious restrictions are more stringent among the Brahmins and hence hypocrisy in this matter is widely practised among them. There are innumerable people among the Brahmins who pretend that they are strictly vegetarians but in reality they are non-vegetarians. They do the eating of the non-vegetarian food secretly. By such hotels serving the non-vegetarian food and run by the Brahmins openly will help reduce the number of people that practice frauds in society. Therefore, we think that it is appropriate to thank the owners of such hotels.

4. However it should not be taken that the fraudulent behaviour is not the only profession of the Brahmins. At least those who have read the speech of Sarladevi Chaudharani made from the presidential chair of the 6th social conference held at south Hyderabad will not feel so. Shri Sarladevi Chaudharani said in the Presidential speech, that;

I have taken birth in Brahmin family is not the fault of my parents. But when I see the declining condition of Hindu society I definitely say that the Brahmins who are supposed to take care of this society have definitely failed in this task and the blame in this regard definitely goes to them. In the existing society their teaching to the Brahmins is that they should maintain cleanliness and try for the mental progress and it is in this there lies Brahminism. But what is really important is that it is necessary to teach those who are unclean to become clean, those who are uncultured to become cultured and those who are unholy to become holy. By teaching such things the Brahmins should have made them one with them but the Brahmins have failed to do this. The Brahmins forget the lesson of saint (Rishi) Agasthi who aryanised the indigenous people. The Brahmins have forgotten the role for which they have born. Their role is to teach the Non-Brahmins and make them educated. On the contrary those Brahmins who mixed with Non-Brahmins, try to educate them and perform their religious ceremonies are socially boycotted and are harassed in many ways. As a matter of fact it is the duty of the Brahmins to declare those Brahmins as anti-social who refuse to educate the Non-Brahmins who refuse to perform their religious ceremonies and who do not mix with them. In fact the Brahmins are more degraded than the untouchables. Integrity, farsightedness, selfless services etc. are the qualities in which the Brahmins are so degraded that anybody will feel that the social reformers before reforming others should establish institution to reform the Brahmins first. The degradation of Brahmin community has gone to such an extent that anybody will feel the need of reforming them drastically. In Hindu society the leadership lies with the Brahmins and if the frontline is misguiding then rest will go to dogs. The view that Brahmanism (Brahmanya) comes with birth must go and the Brahmins must give it up. The man whose views are enlightened, whose sight is all encompassing and whose compassion loves all alone is capable to become the leader of the society. The old idea that the status of Brahman is based on penance, knowledge and compassion must once again be established instead of birth based. There is a need to reorganise the society on the basis of his profession. Those who serve the society alone should become the Brahmins and the Brahminhood must be taken away from others who are bearing it merely by birth.

We are happy that for the past so many years we are writing about the Brahmins but what we write the same has been done by Shri Sarladevi in her speech. Our request to our Brahmin brothers is that if not alien people at least listen what our own country men say.

5. Among the Hindus the woman is an enjoyable commodity and this view is widely prevalent. Everybody thinks that she should behave as per the dictates of the males. Since the woman is considered as an enjoyable commodity much money is spent on her dresses and ornaments. But as a human being she enjoys no rights in Hindu society. To enjoy the property she has no property rights, to cultivate her mind

she has no right to education. Hindus who tell the Christians with pride that in Hindu Shastra even cow has soul the same Hindus do not show in their behaviour that the soul of the woman is important. Nowadays they are realising it slowly but in this also there is no indication of their greatness. The woman should become a good housewife. She should not go beyond this line. This is seen even in the thinking of many who have established the women welfare institutions. In our opinion such narrow mindedness for improving the condition of women is improper. In our opinion the narrow aim for women is unnatural and inhuman. Society must give scope to every individual to attain his perfection. Once this is accepted then where is the reason that we should place before women the lower objectives? An English philosopher has stated that failure is granted but low aim is a crime. In our opinion what Shri Shankar Nayar spoke in his convocation address in women's' University, Pune on 17th June is very important. The important aspect of his speech was :

Our women also should start struggling for their freedom here also like the women in China, America, Turkey, Russia etc. to attain rights equal with men. In these nations the quarrel that is going on between men and women should not be copied as it is, is the opinion of some people in our country. Because in those countries the competition that is going on in services, professions etc. between men and women is not proper for our country is the opinion of some here. We do not find any substance in it. Everywhere the competition is going on among the men. This is going on in India also. The Varnashrama system came into existence only to avoid this competition and this is our considered opinion. Expecting Brahmins position the Kshatriyas should not aspire for it, keeping the ambition of the Kshatriyas both Vaisyas and the Shudras should not compete with the Kshatriyas and the Atishudras (untouchables) should remain satisfied on whatever they receive from the upper classes. This is the Varnashrama Dharma which aims at keeping the position of each Varna undisturbed. But now a days caste professions are being disturbed. Even Brahmins have entered into the profession of selling the shoes and are competing with the untouchables in their profession. The Kshatriyas by transgressing the limit of their profession are competing with the Brahmins in their profession of priesthood. Similarly Atishudras also by transgressing their limit are trying to enter into the profession of doctors, professors, pleader etc. and are in a way giving a blow to the Traivarnikas. When this is going on nobody has said that the people should stop this competition that is going on among the men of various castes. This is so because nobody thinks that this competition among the men of various castes is going to produce any bad effects. When this is so then why should the people think that if women enter into this competition along with men it will have bad effect? From this competition in which women will also participate the appropriate men and women will come forward making themselves available for public services and this will definitely help the nation to prosper.

Sir Shankar has stated another point of view in matters of female education. He has stated :

In Europe, America, Russia, China and in other countries the number of separate schools, colleges, and the universities for women are being reduced day by day. Hence in India also the independent schools, colleges etc. are not necessary. The women must study along with men. The conservative men argue against co-education that in order to maintain the modesty of women and morality of men the women must study after seven years of their age in separate schools. Their argument is that after seven years changes start occurring in human body and hence it is necessary to keep them separated. In our opinion the improving morality by keeping them apart appears as very strange. If a man is kept in Himalaya life long he will remain a saint if an young woman is kept in jail life long she will remain isolated and remain like a nun. But the value of the morality of such people is a big zero. In our view the real morality lies in the fact when women and men living in society together maintain their morality. If by keeping them separate the morality is maintained then it must show itself in the men of Muslim community. Because of Pardah system among the Muslims many times it is difficult for mother to see her children and sister and brother to see each other. It is not necessary to tell any one about the real fact in Muslim community. The Muslim feeling about the women are more unhealthy than the feelings of the Hindus. If we try to find out the reasons why the Hindus are more liberal towards women than the Muslims we will come to know that among the Muslims mixing of men with women is very rare. Had it not been so the man would not have inculcated the low level of feeling about women. For the growth of liberal feeling among both there is a need of their easy association in day to day life. Wherever such association is not possible there the associated life cannot take place. The thing which is not easily available if becomes available it is quite natural that man at once jumps on it for its enjoyment as it is the general rule of the individuals. As opposed to this if that thing is easily available and is daily in association with men, the men will not have much enamouring for it. If the ethics between man and woman is to improve then we must remove the restrictions that come in the way of their association.

Therefore, the advice tendered by Sir Shankar Nayar is definitely beneficial for all.

6. In the last issue of our paper we have given an account of our entering into the temple at Phanaswadi in Bombay. Now Kesari has published about it in its last two issues and has given information about it. The manager of the temple has stated there that he did not know that Dr.Ambedkar is an untouchable. We come to know about it later on. Had we known it earlier we would not have allowed him to enter the temple. Our question to him is that if by untouchables' entry into the temple the temple is polluted then it is necessary to find out the remedy to know who is an untouchable and who is a touchable to protect the sanctity of religion. Because any untouchable without revealing his caste can enter the temple, meet the temple priest and come back and the temple priest will not know his caste. Many such cases may be taking place every day. It is a foolish thought that a man by revealing his caste if enters the temple he pollutes the temple and those

untouchables that enter the temple without revealing their caste go scot free. If they are really interested in protecting their religion then the priests of temple must produce a system to prevent the untouchables' entry into their temples at any cost. During the Peshwa regime there was a rule that the untouchables in order to reveal their identity must tie the black coloured thread to their neck. The priests of the temple should apply to the British government for passing a rule that the untouchables should tie the black coloured thread to their neck to reveal their identity and if the British government agrees over this then the priests can save the Hindu religion from pollution. This is the real courageous act instead of washing the temples when these are polluted. The managers of the temples should pay their attention to it. Another thing is that the managers of the temple have started shouting that the temple which was polluted by Ambedkar's entry has been made pure. Have they ever thought that what kind of effects are being produced on the minds of the untouchables by their acts of purificating the temples? Hindu religion is a Varnashrama religion. In the name of this false Varnashrama Dharma wrong notions are spread everywhere. The people of upper Varna feel that they are superior however foolish they may be and they need not do anything about their foolishness. Nobody makes any efforts to convert these foolish men into wise men. It is also true that when their birth itself establishes their superiority why should they make efforts to acquire good qualities and become superior in real sense of the term. On the contrary the people from lower caste are making efforts to improve themselves in action and thought from the day of dawning awakening on them. The untouchables have now come on the stage of such awakening. Under such circumstances the followers of Varnashramadharma religion should see that their feelings are not shaken. Those who take pride in their family, caste and ancestors should see that they do not harm those who do not believe in such pride. As a troubled serpent does not forget to attack, similarly an insulted person does not forget to take revenge. By purifying the temple the priests have injured the feelings of the untouchables beyond any measure. By purifying the temple the priests of the temple have insulted the untouchables beyond any measure and have enraged them considerably. It is not necessary for us to say what happens when a man is insulted at every step. Today those who are extremists in politics are so because of the insulting behaviour of English rulers with Indians. In addition to us many other Indians can also give evidence for this. If an European insults the high caste Hindu he becomes an extremist. The high caste Hindus who say this should not think that if they insult the untouchables the untouchables will touch their feet. We hope that by such insult of the untouchables there are no riots and murders.

7. Last time it happened at Nagpur that a student of Mahar caste studying in a college came to the college principal and asked for the leave to go home. He told the principal that a quarrel has taken place between his people and the Brahmins. If I kill a Brahmin I will feel that I have attained something in life. An insulted or an injured youngman of an untouchable caste can go to any extent is indicated in this case. If the young man of an untouchable community is well educated what kind of thinking he entertains in his mind is well indicated in the example mentioned above. In Lahore (Panjab) a boy of Chamar caste was insulted in the same way. It is not surprising if they boy entertained the same idea which the Mahar boy at Nagpur entertained. But his fire of anger has been pacified immediately and he cooled down. This Chamar boy has passed his matriculation examination and now joined the Dayanand Saraswati College of Lahore for his further studies. For some reasons he was compelled to stay there in that college hostel. But a hundred cooks from that hostel have refused to serve him food and clean his plate. The principal of the college told the cooks and other servants that the college belonged to Arya Samaj and the Arya does not believe in castes and caste practices. But his pleading did not produce any effect on them. They went on strike and told the principal that unless that Chamar boy is removed, they will not do their work, this question was referred to the college committee and the committee gave its decision that the servants in the hostel be removed. We congratulate the college management for

adhering to the principles. Some castes of the Shudras among the Hindus are so arrogant and Brahmanised that they refuse to do the work of the untouchables even when the untouchables are ready to pay. The washerman refuses to wash the clothes, the hair cutter refuses to cut the hair, the music player refuses to do that. They do not do this not because the untouchables do not pay them but because they think, if they do this for untouchables their social position becomes undermined. There was a need of mending these people by giving some blows and this has been done by the management of the Dayanand College, Lahore. With false family pride they reject virtues and such people need to be punished as did the management of Dayanand College. We feel pity for these poor cooks because they lost their source of livelihood due to their notions of assumed Brahmanism.

8. We have declared our favourable opinion on the marriage between Khan and Panandikar stating that this kind of marriages can bridge the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. It seems that nearly almost all Hindus are in opposition to our opinion. Though this marriage has not helped forging unity between Hindus and Muslims it has done a good job for the unity between touchables and the untouchables, because the Hindus who have become angry with Malini are saying that had Malini married a man from Mahar caste they would have tolerated it but her marrying a Muslim is an insult to them. This kind of language in the mouth of the Hindus is just an impossible thing. But any way they have uttered this language. This only means that peer (Muslim saint) has blessed the untouchables. We always say that some Hindus are working for the eradication of untouchability, it is greatly due to the pressure from the Muslim side.

Suggestion to the subscribers

Letters and money orders should be sent in the name of the Manager, Bahishkrit Bharat. Your register number must be mentioned. To reply your letter a ticket of one anna must be sent. Otherwise it will be difficult for us to reply.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, 15th July, 1927

You Are Polluted At Home, Your Father Is Also Polluted At Home

If anybody has read the report of the education department carefully and thought over it deeply will be surprised over the method of the spread of education. In order to give an account of the spread of education the government has divided the people of Bombay Presidency into four groups.

(1) Advanced classes like the Brahmins and such others (2) middle classes like the Marathas and such others (3) lower classes like the untouchables and such others and (4) the Muslims. If we look at it from population point of view, the Marathas and such others will stand first, the untouchables and such others will stand second, the Muslims will stand third and the Brahmins and such others will stand fourth. In the spread of education also this order should have been there. But the reality is quite opposite. Numerically the Marathas and such others together stand number one but in higher education their number is two and in primary education they stand number three. Untouchables and such others numerically stand number two but in education, higher, secondary and primary they stand number four, which means the lowest. Numerically Muslims are number three but in education, higher, secondary, and primary they are number two. The Brahmins who are number four are on number one in higher, secondary and primary education. The following statistics taken from the last years' government report will make the idea more clear.

Primary Education

Population Per 1000	Castes	Students
Population Per 1000	Brahmins and such others	119
Population Per 1000	Muslims	92
Population Per 1000	Marathas and such others	38
Population Per 1000	Untouchables and such others	18

Secondary Education

Population Per 100000	Castes	Students
Population Per 100000	Brahmins and such others	3000
Population Per 100000	Muslims	500
Population Per 100000	Marathas and such others	140
Population Per 100000	Untouchables and such others	14

Higher Education

Population Per 200000	Castes	Students
Population Per 200000	Brahmins and such others	1000
Population Per 200000	Muslims	52
Population Per 200000	Marathas and such others	14
Population Per 200000	Untouchables and such others	-00-

If any one reads this statistical account carefully he will come to know the vast difference between the first and last classes of people. In this race of education there is such a big distance that a man in the first line cannot see the man in the last line whereas a man in the last line cannot see the man in the first line.

An important change that one can notice here is that the Muslims who were far behind have come up with galloping speed and have now occupied number two place and may go still ahead to compete with the Brahmins. It is surprising that now the Muslim community which was in deep slumber is forging ahead in education. The genuine cause of their progress in education is the concessions that the government has given to them, the Hindus of upper castes are always unhappy over the concessions given to the Muslims by the government and we do not share this unhappiness of the caste Hindus over the concessions to the Muslim community. The causes because of which the Muslims demand the concessions may be the causes of their backwardness. We do not tolerate their arrogant language that they are the guards in the passage to India and are the heirs of the Mughal rulers and therefore, they should be kept happy by the government. However, the concession given to them are not like the concessions given to Mastani by Bajirao. Those who are opposing the concessions given to the Muslims argue that the government should treat all equal in giving concessions. It should not be partial to one and impartial to another.

This advice is alright in general matters. But this advice cannot be said to be advantageous in every case. If one is weak and another is healthy and strong, the special help to the weak will be a matter of real justice. We agree that where all the people are on the same plain the equal treatment to all will be a matter of natural justice. But the place where the people are unequal there equal treatment to all will not be the real justice. Therefore, if all the people are to be brought on the same plain then the people who are below the plain should be brought up by making special efforts, therefore, the special concession given to the Muslims by the government are absolutely justifiable. But the real pinch in this policy for us is that among many backward communities the government has pinpointed only the Muslims for the special concession. The untouchables, Marathas, etc. who are equally backward have been equally bypassed. It is not strange thing that the government did not even wink at some of the backward classes which are more backward than the Muslims. Even if we keep aside the general policy of the government towards the people we must see what is the governments' policy towards the education of the people.

By starvation due to the poverty the man becomes weak and short lived. Similarly by lack of education he becomes weak minded and remains a slave of others, therefore, it is the duty of the parents to bring about both physical and mental development of the children, but many people fail to educate their children. To fill the belly the man has to do many works.

Once a particular profession remains in the family for some generations it becomes a hereditary profession. Like many such professions the education is also a profession. The castes which remain in education field it becomes their hereditary profession. This is the reason why the Brahmins receive education and others do not. It is because of this situation the education has become the profession of the Brahmins and it has not become the profession of others, when we ask the Non-Brahmins to take education, he will say am I to become a Brahmin? This will be his answer. This means that the education is not his profession. In addition to this that among the poor Non-Brahmins even if there is a desire to educate their children it is not possible for them. If the boy goes to school it is a double loss to the parents. One is that he loses income from the earning of his son and plus he has to spend for the education. Therefore the parents cannot afford to send their son to the school because of their hand to mouth existence. This condition though is problematic but allowing it to continue is also highly dangerous. Because of the idea of individual freedom and in order to enjoy that freedom one must have power and strength in him and this power and strength can come only through education. Hence in almost all advanced countries it has become necessary to entrust the responsibility of educating the people to the government. It is only in India the government has not taken this responsibility on its own. In India the British government states that the protection of life and property is its only responsibility. And the laws governing life and property were codified in the Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Transfer of Property Act. This is all that the government has done. In 1910 Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale tried to awake the government in matters of education. But the government did not show any interest in it. The result that it produced was that the castes that did not have any interest in education remained uneducated. The government passed many laws to protect the individual freedom but those laws remained ineffective before the shrewd and mischievous policy of the high caste Hindus.

In 1920 the Act of Political Reform was passed. Since then the age of Democratic reforms has begun. It was expected that at least now the government will take the responsibility of education on it. Because the functioning of democracy is difficult without education. In every nation the variety of works and transactions go on. In these works who will deceive whom, who will sink whom, who will cut the throat of whom and endanger the freedom is very much unpredictable. If this happens then it will not be the democracy but it will be an autocracy.

Now a days a very peculiar type of system has been regarded as democracy. But the meaning of such democracy is very narrow. Where every individual while dealing with other individual is free to behave with his full freedom without entrapped by other individual and protects his interests it is there that is called democracy. Under the circumstances the councils which are now crowded with the elected representatives of the people will easily solve the problem of primary education quite appropriately and immediately. In pursuance of this policy the two laws one 16th Law of 1920 and another 4th law of 1923 were passed. By first law the primary education in the city of Mumbai was handed over to the city Municipality and by the second law the primary education has been handed over to the local municipalities and local boards elsewhere. These laws are enacted as per the policy of Dr. Paranjape who was then the education minister. We are aware that this work is considered as an important work in the life of Dr. Paranjape. But the work which appears as important might not be in reality that valuable. Let anybody say anything in our view these two laws are absolutely worthless, and must be set aside as early as possible. These laws have many defects. In our opinion the real defect in these laws is that instead of keeping the primary education with the government it has been transferred to the municipalities and local boards. The politician who has done this must be either a mad person or a cunning fox. Because no wise man will say that municipalities and local boards are more suited for such a task. One thing is that the members of the municipality and local boards are less educated than the members of the legislative councils. In our view the municipalities and local boards are the bodies of the supporters of the Varnashrama system. The people who occupy the membership there are mostly the supporters of Brahmanism. How can we say that such people will take care of the education of the untouchables. How this burden which was to be carried by the horses has now been put on the back of the donkeys. This does not mean that the government does not want to shoulder the responsibility of primary education it is afraid of the expenditure side of the education. If the people want law make law but be away from its execution is the policy of the government.

We have used the harsh language because of our helplessness. The problem of primary education is very much linked with the welfare of the untouchables. Therefore, we wrathfully express our unhappiness over the mess that the government has made in its policy of primary education, there are no other people who need most necessarily the education than the people of untouchable communities. If the primary education remains with the municipalities and the local boards the untouchables will find it very difficult to raise their heads.

Self-introduction

Public Meeting, Mumbai

A public meeting was held in Sir Kavasaji Jahangir Hall in Mumbai on Sunday, the 5th July, 1927 to condemn the atrocities done to the untouchables by the caste Hindus at Mahad and to decide the future course of action in this connection. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. A large number of people from the untouchable communities were present. Shri Devarao Naik, the editor of the Non-Brahmin paper, Shri G.N. Sahastrabuddhe a member of the social service league, Gitanand Bramhachari of Madras etc. were also present.

The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

Resolution 1 :- The injustice done to the untouchables and the complaints made by the untouchables should be properly considered by the government. Similarly the resolutions passed so far and the would be passed in future should be properly considered and implemented and for this a special officer to see the implementing aspect, be appointed here also in Bombay presidency as has been done by Madras government.

Resolution 2 :- Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha has decided to undertake the Satyagraha at Mahad again. This Sabha supports the move wholeheartedly. This Sabha requests all the untouchable castes that they should participate in the Satyagraha in a big way.

After this the president of the meeting requested Shri Devrao Naik and Gitanand Bramhachari to address the gathering. They both told the people that they should strive hard to secure their human rights. The high caste people show only lip sympathy. No high caste men turned to this meeting in spite of the fact that the invitation was sent to them through the newspaper. In fact the people of Hindu Maha Sabha should participate in such meetings. And if they do not participate in such meetings never mind. You should go ahead. If anybody undermines your position you should go on fighting with him until he comes to your terms. Then Dr.Ambedkar made his presidential address. He said that you have passed both the resolutions but I doubt whether you have understood properly the significance of the second resolution. The second resolution is about the Satyagraha at Mahad again. Satyagraha means a war. But this war is not to be fought with swords, guns and bombs. This war is to be fought with no war weapons. The way in which the people launched Satyagraha at Patullakhali, Vaikom etc. the same way we have to launch our Satyagraha at Mahad. While launching this satyagraha the government perhaps to maintain peace, may come in and put us in jail under some law. Under the circumstances you should be ready to go to jail. Those who in whose case it is necessary to take care of the family should not join this satyagraha. We want only such people for satyagraha who are the men of courage and self-respect. The Satyagrahis should be such men who firmly believe that the untouchability is a blot on this country and it must be removed. And it is my firm belief that such men are there among the untouchables. After his speech Shri Shitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar proposed the vote of thanks.

Reg. No. B2250
Advertisement Rates:
Five annas per line first time
Four annas per line second time
Three annas per line third time
Two annas per line forever

BAHISHKRIT
BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with PostageRs.3
Single issue for 1½ annas.

Printer:
Mangesh Narayan Kulkarni
Karnatak Press, 318 A
Thakurdwar Mumbai

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, dated 29th July, 1927 [Issue 9th

Day-to-day Problems

1. In the last issue of our paper the views we had expressed over the law that has been enacted by the government to spread the primary education those views have been now justified in the primary education conference held at Pune under the chairmanship of Mr. Pahalajani. The law of compulsory primary education of the government is basically the defective one. It is defective is agreed by almost all members of the peoples parties. When this law was passed at least some people were happy over the law but now they are also disappointed. Indifference of the local bodies, their unwillingness to impose new taxes, the miserliness of the government and its irresponsible attitude are harming the cause of primary education and if there is any way out from this it is only the drastic change in the existing law of primary education. The above stated Poona conference has suggested the change in the existing law and it is very much appropriate. It has suggested for the appointment of a new committee. In the enquiry of such committee many things will come out. The difficulties that come in the way of promoting the primary

education effectively will be revealed, and the remedies can be found out to make the primary education truly public education. However let any law come it will not be effective in this matter unless the provincial autonomy is granted fully.

2. In other place a letter of Shri Ghorpade of Nagpur has been published. On the basis of that letter it is seen that day by day a number of liberal people supporting the Satyagraha at Mahad is growing. The thought expressed by Shri Ghorpade is worth considering. We have already stated that the suggestion made by Shri Javalkar that Brahmins should not be included in Mahad satyagraha is not acceptable to us. The opinion of Shri Ghorpade is also the same like ours and we are satisfied over it. Our conscience does not tell us that there cannot be any liberal minded man among the Brahmins. Not only this but our past experience does not reveal that. We wish the participation of all those who are sympathised with our cause, whether they are Brahmins or Non-Brahmins. It is a mistake to exclude the Brahmins both philosophically and strategically. We do not think that those Non-Brahmins who have some urge for the welfare of the untouchables will remain away from us merely because some Brahmins are also participating in our movement. Not only this but Shri Javalkar himself like Ghorpade will say that if some of the Brahmins are participating in it let them do that, our quarrel is for principle and not against any caste. Our sister from a Brahmin caste from Pune has written a letter that with permission of her husband she would like to participate in the satyagraha at Mahad as a volunteer. Shri Javalkar himself will happily agree with this. If there is a fear that by Brahmins participation our work will be spoiled this fear continues in case of the participation of the Brahminised Non-Brahmins and even such untouchables. we are not going to do any thing secretly. It is open to all open before everybody. Therefore, there is no cause for worrying from any quarter. We will thank all those that will come forward to assist us in this holy task. There are many who have showed their willingness to participate in the Satyagraha by sending their letters. There are hundreds of people from the untouchables who are just waiting for the date

of the announcement of the Satyagraha. The names of those that will go to Mahad will be announced at the appropriate time.

3. Shri Ghorpade in the end of his letter has suggested that there should be a format of oath taking for those who will participate in the Mahad Satyagraha. We would like to write some lines on this suggestion. His suggestion is correct from ideological point of view. The problem of untouchability and the problem of caste system go together. The problem of untouchability cannot be kept separated from the caste system. However for practical purpose the movement of Satyagraha should be largely confined to the untouchables. Those who feel that the removal of untouchability is essential for the sake of reforms, justice, compassion and national unity, can participate in the Satyagraha along with the untouchables. For example those who hold the opinion like the opinion of the Mahatma Gandhi for them it will be difficult to sign the oath taking letter the wording of which has been suggested by Shri Ghorpade. But it will not be proper to reject the help and sympathy of such people. Their views may be acceptable ideologically but it will be wrong to keep them away from our struggle only for that reason. It is wrong to make the issues of satyagraha complicated. In the movement like ours we have to take the cooperation of the people of different shades of opinion without disturbing the basic principles of our struggle.

Self-Introduction

Public Meeting of the Untouchables, Pune

Dr.Ambedkar's spontaneous speech

On Wednesday 20th there was held a public meeting in Mang locality (Mangwada) at Pune at 7.30 p.m. The editor of the newspaper 'Dinabandhu' (brother of the poor) Dr. Nawale presided over the meeting. Almost three hundred people, both touchables and untouchables, attended the meeting. The government nominated council members, Dr. Ambedkar Bar-at-Law and Dr. Salunkhe, Subhedar Ghadge, Mr.Rajbhoj, Mr. K.M.Jadhav, B.A., Mr. Pathade, Mr. Gayakwad, Mr. Salvekar, Mr. Ingle, Mr. Landge, Mr. Savalekar, Mr. K.K.Sakat, Mr.

Ghadge, Mr. Vayadande, Anandswami from Khandesh, Mr. Pandarinath Patil, Shri Dhundirajpant Thengadi, Mr. Shankarrao Potnis etc, were among the prominent men who attended the meeting especially to hear the speech of Dr.Ambedkar. Dr. Nawale accepted the chair and Dr.Ambedkar began his speech.

Dr.Ambedkar's frank speech

I will in my speech open my mind without any reservation. Mr. Sakat and Mr. Vayadande have begun criticising me unnecessarily. Some criticism is bound to be there against the leaders. You know that I belong to the Mahar caste. The Mahars are selfish is their criticism. But my question to them is what the untouchable castes other than the Mahars have done selflessly for Mahars?

Useful Work of the Mahars

As a matter of fact the untouchables other than the Mahars are well to do and educated also. In Mumbai some individuals among the Chambhar and Dhor communities pay the income tax. But I have never heard that these people have done anything for the Mahars. On the contrary we by establishing many institutions and organisations are making efforts very sincerely for the good of all the untouchable communities. By founding the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha we have taken up the work of bringing up the untouchables. We started hostel at Solapur for the untouchable students. No body from Chambhar community has helped this hostel. We have admitted the students from Mahar, and Chambhar communities without any discrimination. I have requested Mr. Sakat to send the students from Mang community particularly. We have also opened hostels at Nasik and Jalagaon and are struggling for the amelioration of all the untouchables incessantly. When this is so we do not understand why they should make the Mahars the target for their criticism.

Selfish Charge

Some people criticise that the concessions given to the untouchable communities by the government are all grabbed by the Mahar community only. In Mumbai a Mahar member named Mr. Nikalje of Mahar community was nominated as a member in the corporation body of Mumbai. But when I came to know that he does not work satisfactorily I pleaded to the government for change and the cricketer Shri Balu who is a Chambhar by caste was appointed in his place. Nominated member at Satara, is a Chambhar by caste, on the Municipal body though the population of Mahars in Satara is very big compared to the population of other untouchable communities. When we take account of all these things we notice how baseless is the criticism levelled against the Mahars.

Maintenance of Unity among the Untouchables

There may be people among the Mahars who may not be viewing the things very broadly but it will be wrong to blame all Mahars on that account. It is my urge to all other people to see what the leaders of the Mahar community do and then only come forward to blame the Mahars is my appeal to all others. I am myself prepared for inter-caste marriage and inter-caste dinning with the people of Mang caste. When this is so why should there be any tussle between Mahars and Mangs is not understandable to me. I have myself had maintained a Mang boy in my house like my own son. Even now if anybody brings a Mang boy to me I will bring him up like my own son. We are not the leaders, believing in mere talks. We believe in behaving what we talk. In the conference of Indian National Congress the plates are arranged caste-wise for eating purpose but in the conferences arranged under my leadership the eating arrangement is made in the same place and the people of all the castes eat together seating together without any discrimination. This will reveal how much efforts we are making to bring about the unity among the people of different castes.

If Anybody Wants Let Him Be Away

However inspite of all our efforts if the Non-Mahar untouchables wish to remain away from the Mahars let them do that. If by remaining away they want to carry the work of the eradication of the untouchability let them do that. But our request to them is that they should not carry their work under the shadow of some other people. It is true that some Brahmins try to do the work of the upliftment of the untouchables but there are some Brahmins who support the untouchables in their movement with a view to strengthen their party against the party of the Non-Brahmins and this is what we think. We want the help of only those Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins who work for us very honestly. We do not want to dance at the tune of others.

Challenge to Shri Mate

The people who do the work of the untouchables to fulfill their own selfish interest it is better that they should not do it. Because it is easier for the untouchables to do their progress with the help of concessions they get by remaining as untouchables. I feel that Shri Mate who pretend to work for the progress of the untouchables is his hypocrisy. I personally feel that by taking the help of the untouchables arresting the growing power of the Non-Brahmins movement is his real interest. If Shri Mate proves that my reading of him is wrong then I will cooperate with him.

Don't Be Anybody's Agent

The Hindu Maha Sabha is playing the game of the eradication of untouchability to protect the Hindus from the Muslims is my considered opinion. Under the circumstances my request to the untouchables, other than the Mahars is that they should not fall prey to anybody. I will not feel unhappy even if Mr. Sakat begs sitting on the road side but if he works as an agent of Shri Mate falling prey to his tactics then I will be the most unhappy person. Be independent without working as anybody's agent is my appeal to him.

You Enter the Councils

They charge the Mahars that the Mahars occupy the seats in the council blocking others entry. Is it not just that to protect the interests of the untouchables that the able man should go to the councils? A man like me is not born among the Non-Mahars is their misfortune. But for me there is no craze for a place in council. If there is any able man among the Non-Mahars he should occupy my seat. I will immediately resign my seat in the council. Whenever anybody feels that I am taking only the side of the Mahars he should immediately write to me a letter, I will instantly satisfy his enquiry.

Beware of False Promises

The people from the touchable communities tell the untouchables that be educated, the untouchability will automatically go. But it is wrong to suppose that mere education will remove the untouchability. I will give an example which will make the issue clear. Near my chamber a Brahmin hotel is there. So long as my caste was not known to him he used to give me tea in his cup but when he saw my photo in newspaper and came to know about my caste from next day he started giving me tea in a glass. This shows that by mere education the untouchability cannot go.

Our Duty

If we cannot take the attacking position our chances of surviving are very little. We are being trampled because we are not getting angry over our insults. Our ancestors did not resist the injustice done to them is their great mistake. We must organise our people and tell them that the days of suffering humiliation have gone.

We Will Enter the Temples

What I feel is that hereafter wherever we meet for the conference there our work should result into our entry into the temples and drinking water from the public tanks. This year we are meeting for our conference at Alandi - (a holy place of Saint Dnyaneshwar) and there we are going to enter into the temple. Without this we will not succeed in our objectives.

Request to the subscribers

8 Issues of Bahishkrit Bharat have already come out and 9th issue is being sent today. We had issued instructions in the first issue that those who do not want the issues of Bahishkrit Bharat should write to us. Some of our members

without writing anything to us have returned the issues back. Therefore, we have to sustain a loss of 4Annas for every issue, and we also do not get the money for the issues which have been sent to our subscribers regularly so far. The awakening that has come to our people after starting this paper shows the need of the newspaper for our movement. Hence our subscribers should send their subscriptions immediately by money order and if the paper is sent to them by V.P.P. it should be received. This is our earnest request to them.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, dated 29th July, 1927

Our Critics

On the policy pursued by the Bahishkrit Bharat many are criticising in various ways. We know that it is not possible for us to meet the criticism of all of them. Those who are the sincere critics of our policy and those who criticise us due to their ignorance we must meet only these critics. There are some people among the untouchables who spread misunderstanding about our work. Many untouchables, it seems, have mortgaged their brain to those who merely show their lip sympathy towards untouchables. Many among the untouchables are jealous about us because due to our courageous move they have lost their leadership. For many Ambedkar's leadership is a pinch and how to give setback to it is their real problem. How can we satisfy the people of such tactics? Our only efforts in this connection are to stop the misunderstanding that their propaganda is spreading among the untouchables.

Now let us examine the criticism of the touchables. The real cause of the touchables expressing their anger against us is that we tell the untouchables that if the problem of untouchability is not solved as early as possible they should embrace some other religion. Had the change of religion concerned only to me and to my next generation I would have taken the decision. But to me it is a question that concerns to the whole of untouchable communities. Remain in Hinduism and work for the liberation of the entire untouchable community in India is the viewpoint that I have formed at this stage. But whether it is an individual or a society there is a limit to their tolerance of injustice. If the touchables without bothering for justice-injustice, religious-irreligious, merit-demerit, continue to treat us as untouchables and give us slavish treatment due to their economic arrogance then even now also we tell them that the untouchables will have to think of changing their religion. While writing on the Mahad episode Bhalakar (editor of the newspaper Bhala-the Spear) had threatened the untouchables that the touchables will hit the back of the untouchables. we have given him our answer in his own words and at the same time we have stated that by remaining in Hinduism if it is not possible to secure our basic rights we will leave Hinduism. And I think that there is nothing wrong in this answer. Do our critics think that we should suffer their kicks but must remain in Hinduism? If the Hindus think that we are also Hindus then we must have equal rights with them. The religion which regards crores of people for no fault of theirs as criminals, makes them undergo hell like experiences, even though they are men they are unable to enjoy some of the facilities which animals enjoy, what kind of religion it is? Hinduism does not deserve the name religion. How can we say that it is our religion? If Hinduism treats all equally well then only everybody will think it is my religion. After all the religion is a source for its devotee to attend his temporal and spiritual progress. The critics must think that how much the Hinduism is useful for the untouchables for their material progress or well being. The system of untouchability is such a thing that in it all the paths of progress are closed to the untouchables. Because of untouchability they are unable to move freely in a free atmosphere, they stay in dirty localities and are unable to undertake the professions worth earning. About their Moksa-Liberation (spiritual) the Shastras (religious books) say that the Shudras and the Atishudras should serve the Trai-Varnikas honestly and this is their Moksa. This means that they should lead the hell like life in this world to attain their Moksa after their death. The religion which has kept all the roads open to some people for their progress and has given them the certificate to block all roads of progress to other people such people should praise that religion in any manner of their choice. But those classes of people who are suffering from tyrannical life for ages together under that religion why should they love that religion? There may be lofty thinking and noble ideas in Hinduism but those are worthless so long as those are not translated into practice. Hinduism in practice is its worst form harmful to many and advantageous to few. We have, therefore, decided to take a final decision whether its practical part can become useful to us or not.

Whether man is for Religion OR Religion is for Man?

This question is worth considering. Man is for religion as far as his responsibility to behave morally well is concerned. And whenever the question concerning the whole society arises then also it can be said that the man is for religion. But in the name of religion imposing slavery on a class of people for ages together can never be called as religion. When we say that the religion is for man it would mean that every individual while making his efforts to fulfill his material and moral needs the religion helps him ethically. The religion should not come in the way of his progress merely because he is born in particular family. While justifying untouchability mainly touchables argue that the saints like Chokhamela, Rohidas etc. born in untouchable families are respected and worshipped by the touchables. Do we not give them the place of honour in our religion is their argument. Their argument is true. But the men like these saints cannot take birth often. Giving example of these saints, who are exceptional means sidetracking the main issue. Untouchables also do not regard all Brahmins or such others as bad. Even a rational minded man among the untouchables will respect Eknath Maharaj for his work and thoughts. Eknath who searched for the ashes of Chokoba after his death has been regarded as a saint who was free from the notion of pollution (untouchability). These saints were free from worldly gains. All their attention was diverted towards god. Their example is not much applicable here. As all the Brahmins and the touchables are not qualified to become saints similarly all the untouchables are not saints nor are qualified to become saints. Hence it is necessary that the society as a whole must be thought over from the point of view of the common man in society. The high caste Hindus are giving some importance to Chokoba now a days. But while he was alive he was forced to carry the dead animals only by the caste Hindus. It should not be forgotten that Chokoba died due to wall collapse on his body while he was doing the manual work for earning his livelihood. When Chokoba was carrying the dead animal what was even the most unqualified high caste Hindu doing? It is this society against which we have all our allegations. Untouchability is a kind of perpetual slavery. Brand some people as untouchables for some reason get all possible dirty work done from them, treat them with contempt, take away all their possible human rights, and keep them in same miserable condition for generations together, close all the doors of education to keep them in depth of ignorance, if anybody dared to ask for the rights brand him as rebel, these are the things which are not seen in any country where even the system of slavery is continuing. Very recently Lord Oliviar has written a book "The Anatomy of African Misery" in which he has given the heart breaking account of how the white man is treating the African Negroes. It applies to the treatment given to the untouchables in India. In a place of his book Lord Oliviar says:

> "The slave relation, being once established is automatically and in part unconsciously buttressed by a resolute refusal to admit that the slave is capable of anything better, and when , in the development of competitive industrialism, opportunities arise for his showing that he is capable, the fear of his competition, with the established master race adds feeling of jealousy and hatred to the fear and contempt, and reinforces the obstinacy of the refusal to admit any kind of equality of capacity or of rights. His education and his free use of his faculties are discouraged and opposed. In low

> minds this complex of prejudices and resistances breeds open contumely, vilification of the slave race, agitation against any concession to it, and acts of outrage and violence."

There are some differences between African Negroes and the untouchables in India. The first thing is that the African Negroes are racially different from the white man of Europe. The untouchables in India are not racially different from the high caste Hindus. Another thing is that while committing atrocities on Negroes white men did not take support of their religion. But here the social system and the religious system are one and the same. Hence they easily produced the system of untouchability in society. And since the untouchability became a part of social system it became solidified and it destroyed the feeling of justice in the minds of the high caste Hindus and even destroyed the power of thinking in the minds of untouchables. Under the pressure of religion the untouchables lost their sense of self-respect. They forget that they too have their rights. The community which lost its self-respect how can it raise its head? Lord Oliviar says that "No race can be raised by destroying its' self-respect." We are more careful about the religion because of this. Had religion not interfered in the social organisation the restrictions that cause in our way as obstructions to our progress would not have been there and we would not be the critics of the religion.

Our Question to Our Critics

Our question to the caste Hindus is that had you remained peaceful if you were born as untouchables? Had you loved Hinduism from the bottom of your heart as you do now? In South Africa the Indian people are ill treated and your anger against the treatment knows no bounds. Here in south Africa the separate compartments are reserved for Europeans and Eurasians and you do not like that. You made hue and cry when at Edinburow the Indians were prevented to enter in some hotels and dance with white ladies. This ill-treatment is nothing before the ill-treatment that untouchables receive in India. In India the untouchables are suffering the life of humiliation and poverty for ages together. Had Tilak born among the untouchables and had he received the education of British model he instead of saying "Swarajya is my birth right" would have said that "destroying untouchability is my birth right." We are sure that he would have certainly challenged the high caste Hindus. It is unfortunate that even wise, intelligent and politically conscious men who think about the political equality earnestly are not bothered about the position of untouchables. They ask the untouchables to maintain peace and some of them even threaten the untouchables of dire consequences. The Muslim invasions of India took place, and Muslim rule was established, many were made the Muslims. After this , the English rule was established and there occurred the spread of English education. The work of Christian missionaries started quite vigorously in India. These events from Hindu point of view were calamities but for untouchables the events were certainly blessings in disguise. Otherwise the untouchables would not have seen even these days. They would not have acquired the opportunity to speak about their misery. At least some high caste men show their lip sympathy even that also would not have been there. When we talk about change of religion some people become angry with us. We pity for them. Hindus tell us that so long as you are in Hinduism you must remain away from our water tanks, wells and temples. On the contrary if we become Christians or Muslims particularly the Muslims our untouchability disappears within no time. We see our easy salvation in Christianity or Islam but due to our love for our ancestral religion we are struggling for our emancipation by remaining in Hinduism only. We are telling our Hindu brothers because of our love for them that they should remove all their restrictions and allow us to enter the temples to worship the deities and lift up all kinds of bans on us. If your religion and our religion is one then we too have the equal right over that religion which you have, if you do not allow us to exercise our rights then thinking that your religion is not for us we will try to find other alternative. Why should you be unhappy over us? The god can be seen and experienced not only in Hinduism but it can be done in other religions also. If the Hindus wish religious inequality as it is there then why should they expect love and sense of belonging from us?

Whether Hinduism is For Us or Not?

We must get this question finally resolved. To reform the discriminatory form which the religion has acquired is not in our hands. Those that have deprived our rights and are in majority, their community is much advanced in education and wealth which is their monopoly it is they who must reform the religion. There will not be any effect of our Buddhists or Arya-Samajist on these adamant people. If the obstinate and adamant Hindus are to be confronted it can be done so only by embracing either Christianity or Islam. Whether we should take this decision or not is to be decided by the Hindus themselves. If the Hindus remain obstinate without caring for the rights of the untouchables then the young men among the untouchables will embrace some other religion even without waiting for our instructions to them. We will only be their lame excuse.

Other charges against us

One charge against us is that we hate the touchables. But for us there is no need of hating anybody. We have many friends among the touchables. Ours is a struggle that goes on and those that come in our way are to be criticised sometimes. This however does not mean that we hate the touchables. The other criticism is that we instead of writing on untouchability write on the other controversial problems unnecessarily. Our question on this is that is there any paper in which controversial questions are not discussed? Like other people we too have our opinions and to express our opinion is our right and duty too moreover it should also be remembered that the problem of untouchables cannot be separated from other problems. Castes and casteism, religious ideas, book of the religion, political rights political movements etc. are the problems that are inseparably linked with the problem of untouchables. Untouchability is an insect eating the vitals of Hinduism and the Hindu society and the cause of untouchability is in a particular mental state of affairs. Hence while considering the problem of untouchables it is necessary to consider the other problems also. By discussing only the minor problems or undermining the position of Dr.Ambedkar or by spreading contempt about the paper Bahishkrit Bharat our movement cannot be allowed to suffer setback. Our critics must also know that their efforts to weaken our movement by dividing the untouchables will not be successful. There is an argument of the touchables' that we do not give them the sufficient time for making efforts to remove the untouchability.

Reg No. B2250
Advertisement Rates:
Five annas per line first time
Four annas per line second time
Three annas per line third time
Two annas per line forever

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with PostageRs.3
Single issue for 1½ annas.

Printer:
Mangesh Narayan Kulkarni
Karnatak Press, 318 A
Thakurdwar Mumbai

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that the bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden Parth now be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st,] Friday, dated 12th August, 1927 [Issue 10th

Day Today Problems

1. A news has been published that in the legislature of Travancore princely state a law has been passed that separate road should be constructed for the use of untouchables. When there was a suggestion of building the separate temples for the untouchables we had expressed our fear that this move will result in constructing the separate roads, separate tanks, separate religious buildings etc. Travancore decision endorses our fear. Where even the touch of the untouchables the roads are also polluted there can anybody expect the end of the practice of untouchability? Untouchables need no such empty concessions. Untouchables cannot attain anything by such moves. Because by such concessions the practice of untouchability instead of weakening itself will harden its practice. The untouchables are demanding for the temple entry because they are Hindus and as Hindus it is their right but the shrewd caste Hindus are assuring us that they will construct separate temples and separate roads. This only means that the untouchables should remain untouchables forever. By giving negligible concessions to the untouchables they would like to

keep the untouchables within Hindu fold in order to swell the Hindu population and grab the political rights in the name of the Hindus who then form the majority. If we tolerate the Hindu idea of separate temples, separate roads etc. then after getting Swarajya (self-rule) there will be separate compartments in the trains for the untouchables and then there will be the revival of Peshwa rule. Separate roads and separate temples for untouchables is not a progress, it is a retrogression. In Malabar there are many untouchable castes whose profession is to distil the Toddi (unprocessed liquor procured directly from Toddi trees) and sell it. They earn good income in it and are advanced in their mode of living. Some men and women from them are degree holders from the University. The standard of living and culture have nothing to do with untouchability. Untouchability is the result of obstinate behaviour of the touchables and there hundreds of untouchables are embracing Christianity every year because of the tyranny of the Hindus. The organisation of Hindu Sanghathan (unity) has not paid its attention to it. Hindus are never angry over the injustice done to the untouchables. When a woman like Malinibai marries a Muslim (Khan) then their pride for their religion comes out to the surface.

2. We have printed the letter of Shri Gayakwad of Nasik elsewhere and from that we get an idea of how in villages the untouchables are facing the harassment and injustice from the touchables. In a village with others' animals the animals of Mahars' were also dying. But holding Mahars responsible for the death of animals they were beaten by the caste Hindus mercilessly. This happened in village Dindori of Nasik district. Can the police take cognisance of it and punish the culprits appropriately? We hope that the higher officers of Nasik District will pay their attention to it and punish the culprits for their offence.

3. The Satyagraha at Mahad which became widely known in the country there the Chavadar Tank from which the untouchables had drunk the water from the tank was ceremoniously purified by the caste Hindus. The caste Hindus did not stop there only. Some times back the Mahad

Municipality had passed a resolution that the Chavadar Tank is thrown open to all the people irrespective of caste and creed and that resolution was brought into practice by the untouchables by drinking water from the tank. But now we are told that the Mahad Municipality has abrogated that earlier resolution unanimously. In Mahad Municipality majority of the members is of conservative caste Hindus and hence we are not surprised on the decision of abrogating the earlier resolution. We are, however , sure that the Collector of Kolaba District will definitely pay his attention towards the new resolution of the Mahad Municipality and secure justice for us. The members of the Mahad Municipal Body if think that by their new resolution they have permanently debarred the untouchables from drawing water from the said tank, they are mistaken. This decision cannot go against the untouchables by mere such empty threats. On the contrary the movement of untouchables has purified the Mahad Tank in real sense of the term and their movement will grow more in strength. The backward looking member of the Mahad Municipal Body must remember this. The advocates of Khadi (handmade cloth) and other Non-cooperators from the caste Hindus were throwing the responsibility of atrocities at Mahad on untouchables into the lap of the illiterate caste Hindus. The reversion of the old resolution by the Mahad Municipality is a slap on the face of such caste Hindus who said that, Had these men conscious of the rights of the untouchables and were they opposed to the beating of the untouchables by the uneducated hooligans of the caste Hindus they would not have abrogated the earlier decision of the Mahad Municipality.

Correspondence

Injustice Done to the Untouchables in the Villages

To the editor,
Bahishkrit Bharat Mumbai,

Hope that the information furnished below will find place in the ensuing issue of the Bahishkrit Bharat.

Here at Nilondpada, Taluka Dindori, animals are dying due to some disease for the last one month. Animals died due to some disease and the villagers summoned the Mahars on 15th July at 10 p.m. to the village office(Chavadi). The all people of the Mahar community went to the Chavadi. The villagers were adamant on their stand that the disease has been produced by the Mahars. A touchable in the congregation suggested that they should bring Bhagat (a man with demonic influence) to find out the truth and the expenses incurred on him should be collected from the man whose name he utters. While this was happening a robust man from the Maratha community stood up and said to his elder brother that their animals must have died at home. No sooner he uttered it he started beating the Mahars with sticks that was in his hand. Immediately after this his two brothers who were present there also started beating the Mahars with stick. The Mahars did not expect this hence they were terrified. The Mahars were beaten very severely. Those who were young ran away escaping the major injuries but rest were beaten severely. We are told that 7 people are serious and are admitted to the hospital at Dindori.

The disease that has killed the animals of the caste Hindus the same disease has also killed the animals of the untouchables. These animals like human beings after seeing this hard fact with their naked eyes should have been ashamed of their cruel act. Why should the untouchables produce a disease which harms them also. But who will teach these thoughtless people? Out of more than a hundred people gathered there only three people were beating the Mahars and rest were enjoying it. Is it not surprising? But due to the teaching of Varnashrama Dharma that "Mahar means lower than animals, a Non-human being" and because of this the touchables did not feel anything over the injustice that was done to the untouchables. An old man due to heavy beating fainted and fell down. After seeing this one Shri Gopalrao Patil told to the Police Patil who was his nephew that you are a Police Patil and it is in your presence the Mahars are being beaten severely. If somebody dies you will be held responsible. Then the Police Patil prepared the report and gave it to the head constable at Dindori. But the police have not yet taken any cognisance of it.

Even under the English rule the poor Mahars who are in minority are suffering injustice as they did during the Mughal rule. Therefore the government should take steps to save these poor people from the tyranny and show to the world that English rule does not mean the Mughal rule. Similarly the untouchables also in order to throw away the yoke of tyranny must give up their age old evil practices which have become their blood and bones. In the same way they should also forget the differences that have grown in them and become a unified force. There is no other alternative to this before them.

Yours sincerely

B. K. Gayakwad

Instructions to the Subscribers

Letters and Money Orders must be sent to the Manager, Bahishkrit Bharat. Do not fail in mentioning your Register number. Send the ticket of one Anna for our reply.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, dated 12th August, 1927

Hypocrisy, Madness and Unwise Diplomacy

Some Hindus by coming together have started the organisation for Hindu unity and Hindu purity. The organisers are all educated people. By and large the Bahujan Samaj (Non-Brahmins) have kept themselves away from this organisation. Similarly the people who are in the social reform movement are also away from this organisation. This means the people who can be called as the men of half-knowledge are carrying on this movement of Hindu unity and Hindu purity. The idea of purity is regarded as alien by these people who entertain old ideas whereas those who support the social reforms think that the unity can be brought about by reforms and the reforms will bring about unity and augment the population of the Hindus and the reforms will do away with the idea of impurity automatically. Therefore, both the Non-Brahmins and the supporters of social reform are away from it. The organisation of purity-unity is run by not much intelligent people and hence it has not proved much useful. This being the fact that hypocrisy and madness have become the character of their movement. At present the rift between Hindus and Muslims has grown considerably, and some hypocrites are taking advantage of the rift. At present both the Hindus and the Muslims are quarreling in the name of the religion. Among these quarreling people there may be very few people who are truly religious. Only such people who neither know what is true religion nor bother for the religion kill the people of other religion. The religion is one which converts man into the messenger of God but instead of this happening the man is becoming a wild animal. Under such circumstances the illiterate people resort to goondaism and hooliganism. In fact it is the literate goondas who are responsible for the goondaism of the illiterate people. Because it is they who instigate the illiterate ruffians. As educated hooligans are there among the Hindus they are also there among the Muslims. They are there among the Hindu Pandits they are also there among the Muslim Maulanas. Really speaking nobody thinks about the real religion, nobody bothers about the original thought of the religion. There is an influence of false pride and false urge of the religion among the people. Every religion has become prey to the bookish religion, blind faith in the religion and the wrong notions of the religion. Therefore, the thought of the religion has been divorced from the practice of the religion.

Dead Body and the Thought of Dead Man

It is on this thought that at present the quarrel is going on. What is the truth that nobody is prepared to find out. What such and such founder of the religion has said and what does such and such book of religion say these alone have acquired importance. In reality the truth is weeping sitting in a corner. Under such circumstances the hypocrites are bound to gain the advantage.

Even if we take the example of Khan-Malinibai marriage we will come to know how the hypocrites and mischievous people are gaining advantage from the existing situation.

An educated Hindu lady married an educated Muslim, in fact there was nothing wrong in it but through the public meetings and the newspapers there was much hue and cry as if the whole sky has fallen. The marriage took place some two months back but till today it is the subject of talk in everybody's mouth. Hindu society must have faced many calamities during the last 5 to 10 years but the kind of sensation that Khan-Malini marriage has created was never there in the past. The articles that were written on the Khan-Malini marriage in Marathi newspapers were more in number than the articles written on the murder of Swami Shrddhananda. Can there be any comparison between these two events? Here neither Malini converted to Islam nor Mr. Khan converted to Hinduism. Both have stated at the time of the registration of the marriage that they belonged to no religion. It is therefore, neither a gain to any religion nor a loss to any religion. Even then the caste Hindus are making a big noise over the marriage. The caste Hindus are not bothered about the people who are converting to other religion in hundreds very often and they are all the poor creatures of lower castes who have suffered and are suffering under the tyranny of caste Hindus from the hoary past . the Hindus are not bothered about a big crack in their house wall but they are weeping over a small hole in the wall of their house. Their weeping over the Malini-Khan marriage is a ridiculous example. The crack in their wall will go on growing bigger and bigger day by day if the evil practices in Hindu society are not stopped. The people who are leaving Hinduism among them the population of untouchables is very big instead of considering this social problem the Hindus are spending their energy in the problems like individual cases such as Malini-Khan marriage. Among the Hindus the widow re-marriage is not permitted and therefore many widows are converting themselves to Islam. Then why to shout only against the marriage of Malini? Another thing is that Malini did not marry Khan due to any injustice done to her, nor due to any pressure, nor due to any tactical move on her part, she has married Mr. Khan with mutual consent. Nobody has any right, therefore, to harass or blame such an individual. Such marriages are bound to take place occasionally if not regularly. In matters of publicity to such events our newspapers in Maharashtra are

The Factories of Making People Fools

The owners of the newspapers have evolved their method to make fool of the readers and sell the issues in a big way. They have evolved an art of writing on this kind of issues. If they write against the government they come under the Penal code 124(A) and if they write against the Muslims they come under 153 (A) avoiding these two they turn towards the people and try to befool them. this is the simple way to earn popularity. Recently the annual conference of Hindu Maha Sabha was organised at Nagpur. The conference was presided over by Sir Shankaran Nayar. If Hindu society remembers his advice then certainly the unity among the Hindus can take place. So long as the casteism and the practice of untouchability remain the unity and the purity movements of the Hindus cannot succeed. But the people who write on Khan-Malini marriage with much interest will not write with that earnestness on this question. Because they know that if they write on such problems many readers will not like this and the sell of their paper will be reduced. It is easy to make fool of the people but it is not easy to make them wise. Those who boast for their writing skill should write on such important issues and show their ability by increasing the sell of their paper. In short they exhibit their hypocrisy on one hand and thoughtlessness on the other hand and make the readers more fanatic and one-sided. By this kind of foolishness Hindu society will lose more than it gains. One thing is that this misguides the people and another thing is that it takes the readers away from the path of remedy. These mistakes help the adversaries and place them in an advantageous position. If these were wise enough they would have made some efforts to bring both Mr. Khan and Malini into the Hindu fold. That should have been the real work of the Shuddhi movement. Sir Nayar made a reference to a practice in Madras Presidency in his Nagpur speech. He said

> In Madras Roman Catholic priests used to make efforts to bring about marriages between Christian girls and Hindu males. The purpose was to ensnare the Hindu male into the influence of the Christian girls ad make those males finally the Christians. Why did Hindus not do this in case of Malini. Had the Hindus done this instead of abusing both Mr. Khan and Malini they would have easily absorbed them into the Hindu fold.

Stop Feeding the Brahmins

Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh's Genuine Work of Eradicating Untouchability

In the house of Panjabrao Deshmukh there was a convention of feeding the Brahmins every year. By his convincing arguments to his parents he stopped this convention. This year instead of feeding the Brahmanas he fed some students from the orphanage of Amravati and some students of Mahar and Chambhar communities from Chokhamela Rohidas Boarding. The students were treated well without any caste discrimination in the arrangement of feeding. Many dignitaries and teachers were present for this function. Hindus must learn a lesson from this function. They must stop feeding the Brahmanas because that is the place where the caste discrimination is invariably found. Instead they can arrange the functions in which all can eat together without making any caste discrimination.

This can be a very powerful solution to bring about the unity among the Hindus.

Yours,
A man from Amravati

Work of the Bahishkrit Bharat

Respected editor, Bahishkrit Bharat , please accept my respectful salutation (Johar)[§] I hope that the below mentioned few words will find place in your Bahishkrit Bharat at your convenience.

Request to Untouchable Brothers

For centuries together the untouchables were waiting for the power that will liberate them from the tyranny. That great power has at last appeared in the form of Bahishkrit Bharat and entire country has fixed its eyes on it. This great power is capable to relieve us from the injustice and harassment that is done to us often and the untouchables are feeling confident that through this power we will regain our lost freedom and our basic rights. This power by its bravery and enlightenment is shining and it has made the hearts of untouchables joyous and energetic to fight against any adverse circumstances. This miraculous power is producing the new vigour, vitality and courage among the untouchables who had lost their sense of self-respect and humanity.

Not only this but every untouchable is feeling that he is a free man, a touchable and if anybody calls him an untouchable to prove his rights and erase the blot of untouchability on him he will even sacrifice his very life. This is the feeling that is now growing among the untouchables everywhere.

Within a period of 2-3 months the Bahishkrit Bharat has brought about a drastic and revolutionary changes in the thinking of the untouchables. Bahishkrit Bharat is a great power, it is the speech of the Vedas and it is Bhagwat Gita for the people. It must be read in every house. Its sound must echo in every house. Its sound must ring in everybody's' ears. If its melodious sound rings in everybody's' ears there is no power in the world that can keep the untouchables away from their objectives. It is because of our good fortune that this paper is born. It is my earnest request to everybody from the untouchable community that he should make his house a holy place by buying and reading the Bahishkrit Bharat and show this to the world that there is no paper which has greater number of subscribers than the paper Bahishkrit Bharat. The time has come to show our respect and pride for this lovable and sacred paper and it is our hope that the untouchables will do this undoubtedly.

[§] Johar is a word used by the Mahars while saluting the upper caste men in those days. It showed their lower position.

Kalambi Yours obediently,

8-7-1927 Khandnak Rajnak Inamdar

We thank Mr. Inamdar for his letter praising the role of Bahishkrit Bharat in awakening the untouchables. Censuring that is being done and the misunderstanding that being spread by others and our own people the letter of Mr. Inamdar is both a solace and encouragement to us. The efforts that we are making consciously are not going in vain is indicated by at least this letter. This only means that the people are slowly if not rapidly grasping the essence of writing in the Bahishkrit Bharat. But it is not our desire that the words of Bahishkrit Bharat should be regarded as the words of the Veda or the essence of Bhagwad Gita. It is not our opinion that the Vedas or Gita should be blindly followed. They should be read keeping the eyes wide open. Similarly we cannot tell our readers to follow us blindly. If anybody finds fault with us it must be brought to our notice. But the intension in doing this must be honest. And this is our request to him.

Editor,

Bahishkrit Bharat

Last Part of the Progress of Mahad Municipality

The meeting of the Mahad municipal body took place on 4-8-27 and a resolution was passed regarding the public places, water tank etc. Those who are acquainted with the reactionary policy of the members of the Municipal body for them there is nothing new in it. An important factor in this resolution is that Mr. Veerkar, who often proclaimed that he is the supporter of the liberal policies, proposed this resolution in the meeting. The gist of the resolution was that "The resolution of 1924 which had thrown open the public places , public tanks etc to the untouchables was a problem creator and the untouchables should be prevented from making use of such places. For the justification of his resolution Mr. Veerkar said that the importance of such resolution has not been understood by the illiterate people and hence the municipality should be cautious over such resolutions. On this issue Mr. Tuljarambhai said that this kind of objectionable complaint has not come from the illiterate people but it has come from educated rather half-educated Brahmins and Banias and he brought this fact to the notice of the president and to Mr. Veerkar.

Ultimately Mr. Veerkar's resolution was passed but if the grant of the government is stopped who is responsible for such a big loss.

Yours,

S.G.Deshpande

Self-Introduction
Public Meetings and Other News

District Belgaum

On 2-8-27 a public meeting was held at Shurpali, Taluka Athani, District Belgaum under the chairmanship of Mr.B.H.Mang, headmaster. The chairman explained the problem of the untouchables and the duties of the leaders. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

(1) It expressed loyalty to the British rule.

(2) Passed the condolence resolution on the death of the late Holappa Asode Gotur and the late. Ram Paghat Kamble.

(3) Resolved to participate in the ensuing Satyagraha at Mahad.

(4) Mahars, Chambhars, Mangs and Dhors of each village

must purchase the paper Bahishkrit Bharat.

(5) The meeting congratulated Mr. Ingle for starting the Hostel for backward classes students on behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha. The meeting ended after chairman concluded his speech.

Karwar

Important Public Meeting

A meeting was called by the Hindu leaders and social workers on 30th July, 1927 in Marathi school to discuss the problem of untouchables' temple entry particularly their entry into the Vithoba temple at Karwar. Shri Dattatray Bhaskar Nadkarni Presided over the meeting. The problem was discussed from many points of view. For example it is not necessary that the untouchability among the untouchables must go first? Is it not necessary that the upper caste Hindus by their just behaviour should wash away their sin of practising untouchability and set an example for others? There was also a suggestion that the touchables should improve their condition first then try to improve the condition of the untouchables. It was also assured that the progress of the untouchables would mean the progress of the touchables because by that the Hindus will advance towards the unity of the Hindus.

In the end the chairman of the meeting advised both the touchables and the untouchables and stated that if the untouchables are not permitted to enter the temples it is likely that there may be bloodshed, because the untouchables have every right to enter the temples, therefore it is the duty of the touchables that they should come forward on their own to grant their rights to the untouchables. Instead of doing this if the touchables ask the untouchables about their fitness then it automatically follows that in what way the high caste Hindus are qualified to ask Swarajya from the British? How can anybody show his fitness to enjoy the rights? This was his question. The meeting went on peacefully. After thanks giving the proceedings were ended.

There was some interesting thing in the sitting arrangement made in the meeting. For those who practised untouchability and did not touch the untouchables a separate space was kept for their sitting if they wished to sit separately. But nobody went there to sit and the space remained unoccupied until the last. Otherwise almost five hundred people of all castes were sitting together.

Kolhapur

Like every year this year also the birthday of his highness Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj was celebrated on 11-7-27 in Indumati Hostel Kolhapur. The meeting hall was fully packed by the people who belonged to the untouchable communities. They were almost five hundred in number. Mr. Hari Ramji Sanglikar (Chambhar) Jamadar 4 Bombay Grandier, presided over the function. After some speeches in Praise of Chhatrapati's work the following resolutions were passed.

(1) Expressed loyalty to the British government.

(2) To-day it is the most auspicious day. Just as after the birth of Shrikrishna all the Devas (Gods) were liberated similarly Shri Chhatrapati Shahu's birth liberated the untouchables. It is due to this day the untouchables acquired their lost humanity. Therefore, the untouchables of the entire country are grateful to the house of Chhatrapati.

K.M. Shinde

Superintendent

Ahmednagar

Meeting of the People of Matang (Mang) Caste

On 4-2-27 a meeting of the Matang people was organised at Ahmednagar in the temple of Shri Ram (Ram-Mandir) under the chairmanship of Santram Baba Premdas Bairagi. Almost three hundred people from Matang community were present. In the meeting the following resolutions were passed.

(1) Expressed loyalty to the British.

(2) The primary education must be compulsory and free for untouchables and the untouchables should be considered for the appointment on higher posts also.

(3) The courage that the untouchables have shown in the satyagraha at Mahad is unparallel. They deserve congratulations from all quarters. Soon there is going to be a Satyagraha again on behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha. Our Mang Brothers should participate in it.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Subscription Rates:
Annual Rates with
PostageRs.3
Single issue for
1½ annas.

Printer:
Mangesh Narayan Kulkarni
Karnatak Press, 318 A
Thakurdwar Mumbai

Editor and Publisher
Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar at Law, Rahim Building,
Poyabavadi, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 1st], Friday, 2nd September, 1927 [Issue 11th

Day-to-day Problems

1. At Amravati (a district Headquarters in Vidarbha) there is an ancient temple of Goddess Ambadevi. To look after the management of the temple there is a committee. The untouchables of Amravati were appealing for the last two years to the temple committee that they be permitted to enter the temple and worship the Goddess. Last year the temple committee passed the following resolution:

The temples of Ambadevi and Ekviradevi are very ancient temples and till to-day the untouchables were not allowed to enter the temples. If they are allowed to enter the temples now it will be a big blow to the orthodox people among the Hindus, and it is likely that there will be an uproar among the upper caste Hindus. Disturbing the age-old tradition suddenly will be a dangerous move. This temple committee is appointed by the orthodox caste Hindus and it is wholly responsible to them alone. The committee did not face such problem till to day. The Hindu society is functioning as per the system of the Varnashram Dharma and untouchables also have maintained their own temples separately and they have not disturbed the feeling of the people in any way. Even at the big holy places like Kashi, Pandharpur etc. the untouchables are not permitted to enter the temples. Recently this question has appeared before the orthodox section of the people and unless the people of orthodox society become one on this issue it is difficult to discontinue this age old practice. Therefore, the committee feels sorry that the decision on this issue cannot be taken so abruptly.

After this, a public meeting of the untouchables was held under the chairmanship of popular citizen of Amravati, Shri Dada Saheb Patil at Amravati on 27-7-27. As per the decision of this meeting another application was sent to the Ambadevi's temple committee. In the application it was mentioned that if the untouchables are not permitted to enter the temple within 15 days, the untouchables will resort to Satyagraha in front of the Ambadevi temple. On this application the committee passed the following resolution on 21-8-27:

This committee has no right to set aside the long standing religious tradition. If the permission is granted to the untouchables to enter the temple there will be riots between the touchables and untouchables and that will result into bloodshed. This is our firmly considered opinion. The committee does not feel it proper to allow the situation to develop to that extent. This committee is responsible to the orthodox section of the masses. The applicants should prepare the opinion of orthodox section of the masses favourable for the temple entry of the untouchables. When the committee notices this kind of change in the outlook of the masses the question of the temple entry of the untouchables can be considered. Inspite of this if the untouchables are bent on resorting to Satyagraha they should do it on their own responsibility. If the Satyagraha produces bad results the responsibility will go to the Satyagrahis and its sponsors.

Our people are not surprised over this irresponsible answer. A Brahmanised Hindu will never melt with love for the cause of the untouchables. Our untouchable brothers should never forget this stone like attitude of the Hindus. If untouchables do not make efforts to prove their rights now then there will be no chance for them again. We, therefore, congratulate our brothers of Amravati that they have decided to enter the temple without waiting for appeals and entreats.

2. As per its usual habit the temple committee has tried to show that general masses would mean the Non-Brahmin masses who will also oppose the temple entry of the untouchables. Though this lame excuse may be true, merely on the basis of this excuse there is no need for our Amravati brothers to retreat. Fortunately for them some Non-Brahmin leaders and workers are ready to help them in their endeavour. The Non-Brahmin Party in Vidarbha is true to its salt. It will definitely stand to its principles and help the untouchables. Under the circumstances if they do not try their best it would mean that the untouchables themselves are not ready to end their untouchability.

3. As calf after drinking stomachful milk starts dancing and running here and there similarly from the days that purity (Shuddhi) movement has started the wind of madness is blowing in the minds of the orthodox Hindus. So far the aim of the purity movement was to bring the Indian Muslims to the Hindu fold. But Kemal Pasha has given permission to the Muslims in Turkasthan to follow any religion of their choice. Hence some orthodox Hindus in their madness are thinking to go to Turkasthan to make the Muslims Hindus. After seeing this madness of Hindu Sabha one feels doubtful whether this Hindu Sabha is really capable of making the Hindus strong. There are two aims before the Hindu Sabha one is to bring about the unity among the Hindus and another is the reconversion of those who have left Hinduism (purity). Out of these two aims the unity of the Hindus is more important work. Our real opinion is that if Hindus bring about their unity there is no need of purity (Shuddhi) movement. The main aim of purity movement is to enhance the strength of Hindu population. In the riots between Hindus and Muslims Hindus suffer much not because the Hindus are in minority. The Hindus are often beaten by the Muslims who are in minority. Therefore more than Shuddhi Hindus need unity and this is a naked fact.

4. Not only this but we can tell them emphatically that unless there is unity among the Hindu their aim of purity will never be fructified. The cause of this can be easily understood. Those who have studied Hinduism comparatively can tell us that if there is any difference between Hinduism and other religions, it is this that the Hinduism is not a missionary religion whereas other religions are. This does not mean that Hinduism was never a missionary religion. Aryans who stayed in a corner of this country once upon a time would not have spread it throughout the country had Hinduism not been a proselytizing religion. Dravids who were different in culture and colour were absorbed in Hinduism because of the Aryan efforts in this regard. Then the question is that the Hinduism which was once a missionary religion why did it close its doors for others entry.

In our opinion the answer to this question is very easy. To encourage others entry the society should be of one Varna. This means a man who enters the other religion there he should find no difficulty in inter-dinning and inter-marriage. So long as there was only one Varna Hinduism spread rapidly everywhere in India but instead of one there became four Varnas and from that there came into being the castes and the process of proselytisation got automatically stranded. Because the man who wishes to enter Hinduism, in which caste he is to be absorbed is a big question before the leaders of Hinduism and there is no answer to this question. To make the Hindu society the society of one Varna the only answer to this question is the work for the unity of the Hindus. This does not mean that our workers of Shuddhi and Sanghatan (purity and unity) movement do not understand this. But what they want is that by keeping the Hindu socio-religious system as it is they wish to repulse the attack of the Muslims. Otherwise they would not have suggested the participation in converting the Turks keeping the faith at home as it is. We would like to tell our Hindu missionaries only this much that the death of their false religion is standing very close to them. By their mischievous game its death may be postponed for a day or two but its death is imminent.

5. Non-Brahmin movement which is going on in India is

more intense in Madras Presidency. In Madras the Non-Brahmin Party began its work under the title Justice Party instead of Non-Brahmin Party. It was felt that the people who work for justice will help the untouchables because it is they who suffer injustice most. But unfortunately these people not only did not help the untouchables generally but they did not even help in the areas where rendering the help to the untouchables was in their hands. Very recently an event took place in Madras. Some years back a Non-Brahmin person by name Pachhappa had kept a fund in reserve. His wish was that this fund should be utilised for the education of the Non-Brahmin students. As per his wish a college and some schools are being run there. To man these institutions there is a management of some members. During this current year a student of Pancham (untouchable) caste has applied to the Principal for his admission to the college. The Principal finding it difficult to admit him referred the case to the college management. In this management the Non-Brahmins are in majority. The management gave a decision that this untouchable boy cannot be admitted to the Pachhappa College. Against this decision an appeal was made to the Madras high Court. It is learnt that the High Court in its verdict has stated that there should not be any difficulty in admitting the boy to the said college. This shows that the Non-Brahmins who criticise the Brahmins saying that the Brahmins do injustice to others the same Non-Brahmins when it comes to doing justice to the untouchables they go a step ahead of the Brahmins in doing injustice to the untouchables. Had the members in the college management been illiterate it was in a way understandable. They are not only educated but it is learnt that some of them are the leaders of the Non-Brahmins. It is learnt that there is one member in the management that he always speaks against the practice of untouchability. When he was asked that why did he behave against the untouchables his logic was that his behaviour there in the management was the behaviour of a trustee. Such people cannot hide their hypocrisy for long.

Request to our Untouchable Brothers

Dr. Ambedkar who has risen up from the untouchable community has made the dazzling effect by his unsurprising intellect on the masses.

Now the untouchables have become fully awakened. The untouchables now in order to regain their lost rights are prepared to fight their adversaries with determination. They are prepared to fight their enemy that come in their way of acquiring just rights.

The Bahishkrit Hitakarni Sabha which Dr. Ambedkar has founded has brought the unity, produced confidence and liveliness among the untouchables and this change has no parallel in their history. The branches of the Sabha should be spread in almost all the villages.

The paper Bahishkrit Bharat founded by Dr. Ambedkar has brought about a great revolution among the untouchables. This paper means a machine that is destroying the walls of Hindu orthodoxy. Some hired newspapers speak ill of Bahishkrit Bharat, but we are not worried of such ill-feeling about us. The Bahishkrit Bharat has emerged out of all odds. Within a few days it will shut the mouth of all its adversaries.

Dr. Ambedkar has launched a mighty movement for the spread of education among the untouchables. He has started founding hostels for untouchable students at many places. Booker T. Washington launched a movement for the liberation of Negroes in America similarly Dr. Ambedkar is the Booker T. Washington of India who has launched the movement for the liberation of untouchables. Some people will say that I have unnecessarily started praising Dr. Ambedkar but it is not an unnecessary praise it is the history of his brave work. It is worth praising that the untouchables without anybody's help have started their liberation movement on their own.

Saint Ramdas has stated that those who depend on others their work is doomed to their fate.

Untouchable brothers go ahead faster in your liberation work. By educating your children make them equal with others. Improve your thought and action. Bury your disability that is shown in your case at public temples, wells, schools etc. and tell others that you are not untouchables but are touchables.

Writer

Krisna Nayaku Sutar

Summary of Some Selected Letters

Untouchables' Unity Organisation of Konkan Mahars has started a night school on 16-2-27. There are 22 students of Mahar and Chambhar communities in the school. So far the school has got Rs. 37 by way of fees and Rs. 55 and 8 annas were spent on the salary of the teachers. In this total Rs. 18½ were borrowed as loan. The school needs financial assistance very urgently. The Secretary of the school Shri S.A.More has appealed our brothers for financial help.

Shri Nanduskar writes from Karachi (now in Pakistan) that the service to the people is not a bed of roses but it is a bed of thorns. One must be ready to sacrifice his life and property while doing social service. In order to remove the blot of untouchability placed on us we must be ready to work hard to combat it. The people imbued with Brahmanism will never come to our help in this regard. The untouchables whether they are Mahars, Chambhars, Mangs and scavengers whoever they may be instead of sitting at home they must be ready to jump into the ocean of struggle. It is our good fortune that we have got a man like Dr. Ambedkar to lead us. Will my untouchable brothers lend their ears to my appeal?

Instructions to the Subscribers

Money orders and the letters should be addressed to the Manager, Bahishkrit Bharat. Please write your Register Number. Unless a ticket of one anna is sent your letter will not be replied.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday, 2nd September, 1927

Mahars and their Vatan (hereditary position)

During the last one or two years the discussion on Mahars and their Vatan is taking place with some seriousness. To discuss this problem alone two big conferences were organised one at Nandgaon, Dist. Nasik and another at Rahimatpur, Dist. Satara. After much discussion some important resolutions were passed in these conferences. Some resolutions have also been passed in the conference at Gavanal Dist. Belgaum on Mahar Vatan. After studying all these events and the resolutions Dr. Ambedkar has prepared a draft to be introduced in Bombay Legislative Assembly and it will soon be introduced in the Bombay Assembly.

In one way the problem of Vatan concerns with Mahars only but when we see the area of its concern its concern is over a big area. According to the census of 1921 the Mangs are 10 in total population of 1000, Chambhars 11 and Mahars 50. When such a big population is caught in the hereditary system called Vatani system the removal of untouchability is just not possible. Thus the problem of Vatan is linked with the problem of untouchables. Hence it is necessary to study this problem threadbare. First of all we should see

What is Vatan?

In the Vatan Act of 1874 if there is any Vatan income it is that, hereditarily used designation and rights and power attached to that together has been defined as Vatan. On the basis of this in the word Vatan two things are involved. (1) Hereditary designation and (2) Income from the Vatan. Though heredity is one of the parts of the Vatan all hereditary things are not included in it. A designation may be used hereditarily but on the basis of this alone that designation cannot be called law based because in the Vatani Act

Hereditary Designation

Means his association with collecting the government land tax or his association with the work of village police or determining the village boundary or other designations in matters of revenue business. In olden days in every village the hereditary designation holders were 24. In this 12 people were called Balutedars and 12 people were called Alutedars. During the Peshwa rule the number of these Balutedars and Alutedars increased enormously. When the British rule was established they reduced the number. They divided these Alutedars and Balutedars into three divisions. (1) Vatani village servants needed for the government (2) Vatani village servants needed for the Rayats and (3) Vatani village servants not needed for both the Government and the Rayats. In this 2nd and 3rd groups of servants whose services were not needed to the government their income was taxed and they were freed from the government services. The Vatan Act has not been applied to them. The Vatan Act has been applied only to the first group of servants. Therefore, according to the Vatan Act, the village servant means Patil, Kulkarni and Mahar. Here we have to discuss only the merits and demerits of Mahar Vatan.

Mahars Have No Fixed Work

There is no definite work assigned to Mahars under their Vatan. Perhaps the government has kept this uncertainty purposely. In the Vatan Act, since Mahars are workers in the village the Collector of the District was empowered to determine the work of the Mahars. If we see the Mahar Vatan proceedings of the village we will come to know the kind of work that Mahars do in the villages. Some days back we came across a paper of Mahar Vatan proceeding of a village called Lahare of Nasik District. In that paper the work that Mahars were required to do was enumerated. (1) To assist the village officers in collecting the revenue (2) To render postal services from the village to the Taluka place or to any other place as per the instruction of the village officers. (3) To reach the revenue collected from the village to Taluka place. (4) To collect the information of births and deaths (5) Whenever the government officers visit the village render services as required by them. (6) And to do any other work required in the village.

This is an exhaustive list of their work. These services though seem to be simple how troublesome services these are is known only to the Mahars. Take the example of postal services. A letter which goes by post in 2 paise the Mahar has to walk the distance of 10 to 12 miles to and fro sometimes in scorching heat or in heavy rains sometimes with food sometimes without food. The services of the government officers, official and Non-official are many. The definition of the government work is such that in that any work to be done by Mahars is easily accommodated. Some times the Mahar has to run after the horse or the Tonga that officer or officers used for their journey. He carries some luggage of the officers with him while running after the horse or the Tonga that the officer uses for his journey. These works performed under Vatan were sometimes called as Veth Bigar- forced labour. There is no mention of Veth Bigar in law therefore the work that is extracted from the Mahars unlawfully has been enumerated in the following list by the Mahars of Devale in their complaint to the Collector. (1) Forced labour in shoes (2) in Boot (3) in buffalo (4) in Cows (5) in Goats (6) in horses (7) in bulls(8)in parrots (9)in Deers(domesticated) (10)in Dogs (11) in Cots (12) in boxes (13) in pots (14) in Girls (15) in Boys (16) in Grinding stones (17) in bags (goni) (18) in guns (19) in Swords (20) in Onions (21) in vegetables (22) in wheels (23) in mangoes (24) in wood (25) in belts (26) in carpet (27) in clothes (28) in parcels (29) in sugarcane (30) in whip (31) in furrow (32) in chairs (33) in fruits (34) in cots (35) in wooden cot (36) in saddle (37) in tables (38) in bags (39) in yoke (40) in rope of the neck of the bull (41) in earthen pot (42) in pickax (43) in scraper. This is the list of 43 kinds of forced labour that has been given there. As a matter of fact the carrying of government record wherever those are needed is the only work of the forced labour. But how arbitrarily the forced labour utilised can be seen here. Here no government work has been mentioned even by mistake. Carrying the personal luggage of incoming and outgoing official is the only work under the forced labour. The distance they have to cover, carrying the luggage is not a small one. Some times the distance is from 10 to 12 miles. The government has not decided about the governmental and Non-governmental work that the Mahars have to do. Nobody asks the peon in the judiciary department to do the work in excise department. A man in the revenue department does not do the work in Police department. But this does not apply to the Mahars in their duties. In revenue collection the Mahar is regarded as a servant in revenue department while in registering the birth and death he is regarded as a servant in health department. While measuring the land he is regarded as a peon in land settlement department. When he works in the forest department he is regarded as peon in forest department. While imprisoning the animals he is regarded as a peon in the police department. If there is any new department and somebody's services are required it is the Mahar whom they will call instantly. Anybody can easily understand that this is the glaring injustice. Even in the home of an English officer the butler will not do the work of cook, mess man will not do the work of the boy but the same officer does not think it as an injustice to extract the variety of work from the Mahar. Thus as there is no definite idea about the limit of their work similarly there is no definite idea about

How many people should work

as the Mahars should do any work assigned similarly any number of Mahars that are available on the occasion should work. As there is an uncertainty about the kinds of works that the Mahars should do in the same way there is an uncertainty about the number of people that should work on the required occasions. The government resolution is that if the village population is from 1 to 500 there should be one Mahar servant appointed. If the population is from 501 to 1000 there should be two Mahar servants and then from thereafter for every one thousand additional population one additional Mahar should be appointed. But there is no consistency between reality and this suggestion. It is said that in Nagar District at Parner where the population is 4000 there are 32 Mahars in work. Thakur

Pimpalgaon a village of 800 population there are 8 Mahar servants who are in work; and in a village called Dhandarphal with population of 1625 people there 16 Mahars are village servants. In a Taluka of 75000 population 15 to 16 peons and 30 to 35 police are sufficient to look into the work but even in a smallest possible village many Mahars work as village servants is a matter that surprises.

There is uncertainty of works, there is also the uncertainty of the department where they should work. But

Whether there is uncertainty in the hours of work?

There is no certainty in that also. He should be present for 24 hours. The government officials may come any time and assign any work to the Mahars. If the male member is not present the female member, if both are not there their son if he is also not present then his daughter but work must go on. There must be some substitute to do the work assigned any time. Even if somebody is seriously ill or died in the family there is no escape from the work. If there is a call he must run to do the work. And if there is any delay in attending the work he will receive all filthy abuses and even the blows. All this is meekly tolerated by the Mahars.

In case of the work of Vatan holding Mahars a very funny thing which surprises the observer is that,

He is the servant of two masters

If any one reads the Mahar Vatan proceedings of any village he will find that along with the government work he has to do the following work of the Rayats of the village.

(1) Helping the Rayats in preparing the ground to harvest the crop.

(2) If anybody is dead in the house of the Rayat he has to carry the wood to cemetery to burn the dead body.

(3) Communicate the news about the death to the relatives.

(4) Carry the dead animal away from the house of the Rayat.

(5) On the occasion of the marriage he should cut the wood into the pieces and supply it for cooking the food.

(6) Doing any other work assigned.

Really speaking the Vatandar means the worker in the village doing useful work of the government is stated in the Vatan Act itself. Under the English rule only those village workers that were useful for the government alone were retained and rest were left out. This is proved by the government record. Thus these village servants are responsible only to the government for government work only. Patil and Kulkarni these two Vatani village workers do not do any work other than the government work. Like Patil and Kulkarni the Mahar is also considered as useful government servant and it is on this reason he has been retained along with Patil and Kulkarni. When this is the position then why should the government allow the Mahars to do the private work of the Rayats. Its causes are the mystery for us. There is no justification in the Vatan Act for this kind of injustice done to the Mahars. In the 4th column of the Vatan Act it is stated that the Vatandar means a government servant doing the government work hereditarily. His income may be from the government sources or from the Rayats. As per the above mentioned act he is entitled to do the government work only.

The government should have seen and prevented extracting private work from the Mahars. Take the two works extracted from the Mahars (1) Reaching the message regarding the death to the relatives and (2) Carrying the dead body of the Rayat's animals away. In cities the message of the death is communicated through the post offices. The government should have prevented these wrong practices in the villages. The orthodox Hindus emphatically point it out to the government that the untouchables do all sorts of dirty work of the Rayats and therefore they are regarded as untouchables. Some people argue that in every village some dirty work is bound to be there and somebody has to do it. What is wrong in it if Mahars are doing it. Our argument is that for doing such dirty work the choice is left to the people who opt for it.

It does not mean that those who do not want to do such work should be forced to do it. Here the Mahars are forced to do this work.

Collection of Variety of subjects

Madhya Prant-Varhad Hindu Parishad

Presidential Speech of Sir Shankaran Naiyar

"You have honoured me by electing the President even though I am not a member of the Hindu Sabha. Though I am not a member I always support the good work done by the Sabha.

Hindu Sabha

Some years back the English education did not spread much among the Muslims as it had spread among the Hindus. Then the Muslims thinking that they should not be side-tracked in the coming reforms they formed their own league. Then the Muslim leaders started demanding more rights than what was due to them. Of course they should not be blamed for this demand. The government accepted their demands with much pleasure. When Bengalis, particularly the Hindus started agitation against the partition of Bengal to oppose this agitation the Muslims formed their Muslim league. Lord Minto accepted almost all their demands and in Morley-Minto reforms their demands received priority. Again when there came a time of giving second installment of reform then both Hindus and Muslims coming together prepared the draft of the Lucknow Pact and accepted it. The government gave a place for this act in the next installment of reform. Because of this at least temporarily the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims stopped. Then began Gandhiji's Non-cooperation Movement. Of course there was a good intention behind it. Gandhiji tried his best to forge unity between Hindus and Muslims by supporting the Muslim Khilafat movement. While doing this Gandhiji gave almost secondary importance to the rights of the Hindus. He and his Muslim friends did not visualise the future results of their stand. Gandhiji said that he will procure Swarajya within one year. For this reason the Muslims remained with him for one year. But in between there developed a feeling among the Muslims that the Muslims of the world are one – Pan Islamic feeling. Even illiterate Muslims started imposing their rights over the Hindus forcibly. In Malbar and elsewhere there took place horrible riots. This eventuality would have been visualised quite early. Immediately after the First World War started the Turkey joined the war against England. The infuriated Muslims in Panjab attacked the Hindus in Panjab. Even though there were Muslims also in Gandhiji's Non-cooperation movement the Muslims inspite of this attacked Hindus and destroyed Hindu temples in some places. Gandhiji kept wooing the Muslims inspite of all this. Its result was that Muslims without bothering for their leader kept asking for their demands. Naturally the Hindus became angry with this, the differences went on growing. Gandhiji feeling helpless left politics.

But the results of his movement remained lasting. The party of Non-cooperation and the Congress kept up their efforts for peace and friendship. But these failed in their efforts to bring about the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and it is impossible to do this hereafter also. After Gandhiji Mr. Chitaranjandas became the leader of the movement. He also with his goodwill to make the path of Swarajya smooth brought about an agreement between Hindus and Muslims. But instead of growing unity by this agreement, there developed the enmity between Hindus and Muslims. This enmity has been portrayed by Prof. Rameshchandra Banarjee in his magazine 'Vaidic' in following words.

Result of the Unity Agreement

"The weak Hindus when were unable to protect their women and children who faced the precarious position is just difficult to describe. It can only be imagined. This is the condition of the Bengali Hindus today. On one hand our patriotic leaders who are mostly Hindus speak loudly about the Swarajya and the Hindu-Muslim unity and on the other hand the Muslim hooligans kidnap the Hindu women in villages. In north and east Bengal their efforts are systematically going on. When many of our leaders were very serious in giving lectures on Swarajya and many of great newspaper editors were serious in writing on Hindu Musalman unity the Muslim hooligans were violating the chastity of Hindu women.

Officials Support Gundas (Ruffians)

In such episodes the Muslim officials and agents support the kidnappers of Hindu girls, women and widows. These ruffians not only violate chastity of women but they killed them on many occasions mercilessly. These ruffians are fully sheltered. Under such circumstances if 80 percent Muslims are absorbed in the government services then what will be the position of the Hindus who are weak and unorganized can be just imagined.

In short both Swarajists and Gandhi have accepted the position that it is impossible for them to bring about the unity of the Hindus and the Muslims or it is impossible for them to protect the Hindus. Hence as there is a Muslim League to protect the interests of the Muslims similarly if there is

A Hindu Sabha for the Protection of the Hindus,

it is possible that they by coming together sort out differences and forge unity among them. It is impossible that this work can be done by the Congress or Non-cooperating Party. It is also not advantageous to postpone or ignore this problem. Day by day the rift between Hindus and Muslims is growing. The argument of the Congress party is that once we gained the Swarajya we will look into the question of Hindu-Muslim rift. But the Muslims' argument is quite opposite to it. The Muslim league has declared that first of all the Muslims interests must be safeguarded. Unless this is done they do not want the next installment of Swarajya. After this language of the Muslim leaders the demand for Swarajya has come to a standstill. And today Gandhi party that the Congress Party is prepared to accept whatever the Muslim League demands. In short the interests of the Hindus cannot be entrusted to the Congress party. The Hindu view was if peace and unity is needed then there should be the mixed electorates. Recently some Muslim leaders under some condition are prepared to accept the mixed electorates for the sake of Hindu Muslim unity. There is no meaning in discussing the condition that they have laid down because they do not want the joint or mixed electorate. Swarajya party will ultimately accept the Muslim demand for separate electorate the rift between the two communities it seems will continue for some more years. If anybody wants to see the difference between the tendency of

Hindu Sabha and the Congress

then one can see one condition that the Muslims have put forth. In Sindh Province the Muslims are in majority hence a separate province of Sindh should be formed. On this suggestion the Congress party has resolved the following.

"The Congress has already accepted the principle of linguistic organisation of the states. On this basis if any state demands for its reorganisation it should be immediately attended to. This work should be inaugurated by forming Andhra, Sindh and Karnataka states." It was quite natural that they demanded the formation of separate Sindh as its population is exclusively the Muslim population. The Congress accepted their demand for separate Sindh even without informing them the principle of linguistic reorganisaion of states and while doing this it completely ignored the opinion of Hindus in Sindh. Hindu Maha Sabha has opposed the idea of carving out a province of majority community. I feel by keeping the Congress plan aside and considering the view of Hindu Sabha we should support the helpless minority of the Hindus in Sindh.

In Bengal Government Annual Report it is stated that:

Khalifat movement set the Muslims against the government and produced in them the feeling of anti-government, anti-law and anti-order. After the end of the Khalifat movement their anger turned towards the Hindus and left the government. Because of this change there took place riots between Hindus and Muslims in Malbar, Panjab and elsewhere. In Bengal the Muslim fanaticism played such a havoc that I will describe it in the language of the Swarajya Party paper. The outrages on Hindu women has become an usual feature in Bengal. The North Bengal and East Bengal have become the centres of regular atrocities. Hundreds of Hindu women have become victims of their lust and cruelty. The account of all these cruelties does not appear in the newspaper. For fear of defame many do not divulge the truth. Sumati Devi in her article published in the paper 'Forward' says that the Goondaism is widespread in Bengal.

The hooligans and the ruffians are neither afraid of the government nor of the people. Their cruelty goes on in an organised manner. There is no fear of punishment therefore, they are doing their job as a sort of pleasure. The women in Bengal are so weak that it is not possible for them to protect themselves and they fall prey to hooligans' wicked designs. But whether the people have any shame about the humiliation done to their women? They see with naked eyes the atrocities done to their women quietly. Have they lost all their sense of self-respect? Why their heart does not melt after seeing the tears of their women? Why nobody comes forward to counter these monsters?

Why should this be the condition? To fight the government unitedly; we will ignore your hooliganism is the agreement that Gandhi and Swarajists have, perhaps made with the Muslims and hence, it seems, that the Muslims have become free to commit atrocities on Hindu women. This is the result of the wicked policy pursued by Gandhi and Swarajists.

Caste System Is At The Root Of All This Disaster

Shri Rameshchandra Banerjee writes :- The society which is divided in hundreds of castes, how is it possible to bring about unity in that society? If a merchant has been attacked by ruffians why should a Brahmin feel anything about it? If a Chambhar has been attacked by a Musalman a man of Kayastha caste simply looks at it. In Bengal there is one caste which has unitedly faced the Muslims' atrocities against their women and that caste is of Nam-Shudras.

The work of the Bengali untouchables is very much inspiring. They have protected not only their caste people but they have also protected the honour of upper castes on many occasions. Had these Namshudras not faced the Muslims courageously then the castes of Brahmins, Kayasthas etc. would have been washed away. But these Namshudras the protectors of Hindus and Hindu religion are regarded

as untouchables

This shows the grave urgency of the unity among the Hindus. This is the condition which prevails in other states also. Therefore, the Hindu Sabha has taken up the work of bringing about unity among the Hindus. Hindus of all castes and classes should come together and resist this cruelty. Hindu Sabha also should discard all the restrictions of castes that come in the way of Hindu unity. The castes have prevented unity and the lower castes have remained inimical because of their low position. Though the mixture of castes and their unity is a difficult problem but the Hindu Sabha should make efforts to solve this problem step by step. In the existing circumstance it is difficult to justify the caste system. Nobody follows the functions of his Varna now a days. All Varnas have deviated from their Varna functions. The Non-Brahmins are not prepared to accept Brahmins as their Guru (teacher). Lower castes are not prepared to accept their low position hereafter. Turkestan is more conservative than the Hindu nation but the Muslims of Turkasthan have discarded all the religious restrictions that come in their way of progress. The institution of religion is for the progress of society. If any restrictions have become harmful those should be discarded as per the demand of changed environment. If the upper castes stick to their age-old superiority it will come in the way of forging unity.

Hindu religion has produced many distinctions and divided the Hindu society. In the existing circumstances observing castes is very much harmful. Today if the caste restrictions are not observed the social boycott is declared against the violator. For example by drinking water from the well used by the lower castes many became violators of caste rule and to escape social boycott embraced other religion. Similarly some people left religion merely due to caste harassment. Taking such people back to the original religion will be the justice to them.

The women who become victim of rape are either thrown out of society or they become prostitutes or become converts to some other religion. Such women instead of depending on Hindus think of taking shelter with some high class Muslims. Hindu religion which does not protect its own women there is nothing wrong if it perishes.

And such a society is not fit to attain Swarajya. Those who are opposing the Shuddhi movement are ignorant of Indian history. Buddhism had spread throughout the country once upon a time. But later on all those Buddhists were made Hindus. In south India thousands of people had become Christians. And among the Hindus and the Christians the matrimonial relations were quite common. The Christian priests used to encourage such marriages thinking that the Christian wife will persuade the Hindu husband to embrace Christianity. All such Christians were then made the Hindus. My English friend has made a suggestion that if Hindus made the Muslims Hindus considering them as Kshatriyas it will help solving the Hindu Muslim problem. The Hinduism has grown in strength because it accommodated within its fold the people of other religions. Therefore, there is nothing uncommon in Shuddhi (reconversion) movement.

Unity On the Basis of Equality

Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be brought about merely by declarations. It can be done only by action, good feelings towards each other, and faith in each other. Unless the urge for unity is produced intensely in both the communities the unity is not possible. The unity should be brought about on the principle of equality seems to be an agreement in both. Accepting the principle of discrimination for agreement is an invitation to misfortune.

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